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EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN PALESTINE, IV

PART I: TEXT

NELSON GLUECK

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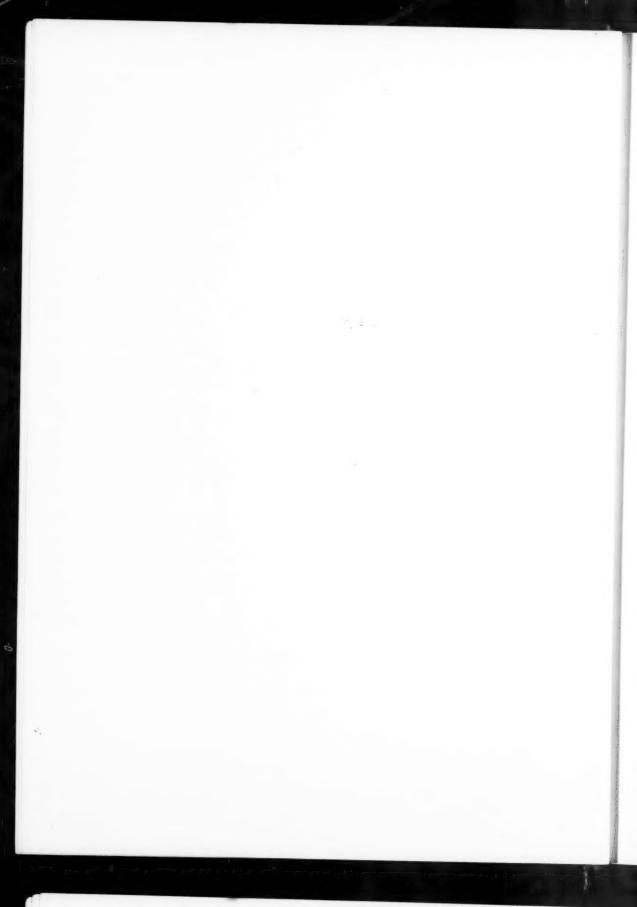
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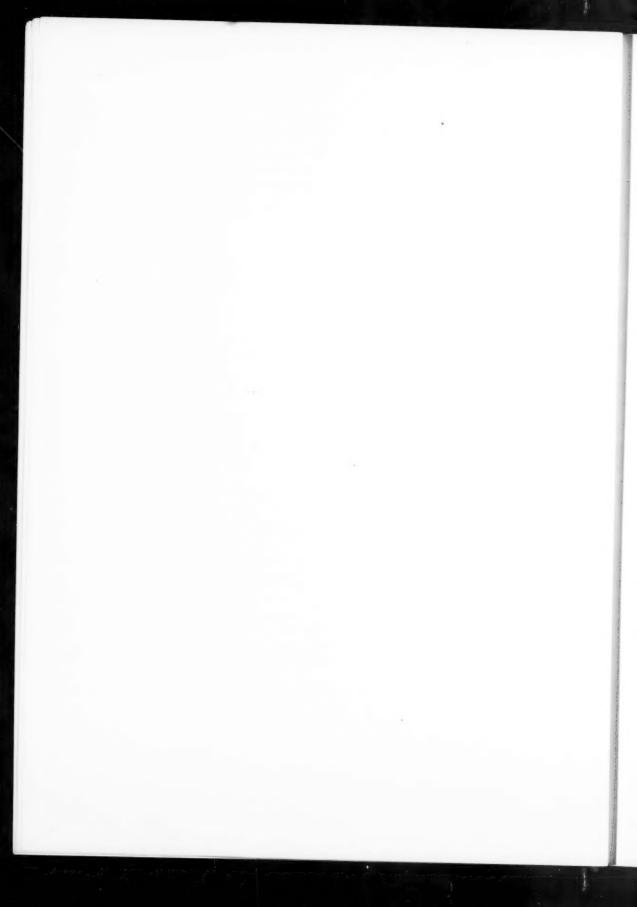


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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA Annals of Archeology and Anthropology.
'Ain Shems Grant and Wright, 'Ain Shems Excavations.

AJA Amercan Journal of Archeology.

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

AP Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine.

APB Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, 3. ed.

ASOR American Schools of Oriental Research.

BA Biblical Archaeologist.

Beth-Pelet II Macdonald, Prehistoric Fara.

Starkey and Harding, Beth-Pelet Cemetery.

Beth-shan FitzGerald, Museum Journal, XXIV: 1, 1935, pp. 5-22; Pl. I-X.

Beth-Shan: Earliest Pottery. Sellers, The Citadel of Beth-Zur.

Beth-zur Sellers, The Citadel of Beth-Zur.

BJPES Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.

Bulletin Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,

EB Early Bronze.

FSAC Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity.

Géographie . . . Abel, Géographie de la Palestine.

GHAP Maisler, The Graphic Historical Atlas of Palestine. HGHL Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

HM handmade.

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature.

JPOS Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,

Kh. Khirbet (Ruin of).

km. kilometer. LB Late Bronze.

m, meter.

MB Middle Bronze.

Megiddo Lamon and Shipton, Megiddo I.

MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft. MMP Stekelis, Les monuments mégalithiques de Palestine.

MT Guy and Engberg, Megiddo Tombs.

NCEB Engberg and Shipton, Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze

Age Pottery of Megiddo.

NMP Shipton, Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata VI-XX.

OSJ Glueck, The Other Side of the Jordan.
PEFQS Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement.

PJB Palästina jahrbuch.

PPEB Wright, The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the

End of the Early Bronze Age.

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ABBREVIATIONS

QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RJ	Glueck, The River Jordan.
SAIA	Sukenik, Archaeological Investigations at 'Affula.
SEP	Conder, Survey of Eastern Palestine.
SWP	Conder, Survey of Western Palestine.
TBM	Albright, The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, I. IA. II. III. (Annual XII.XIII.XVII.XXII-XXII).
TG	Mallon and Koeppel, Teleilät Ghassül.
WHAB	Filson and Wright, The Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible.
$\mathbf{W}\mathbf{M}$	wheel-made.
WS	wet smoothed.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins.

PREFACE

This volume is the last of this series of Explorations in Eastern Palestine.¹ It is devoted to the results of the archaeological exploration of the east side of the Jordan valley and of that part of Transjordan, which extends from the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq) to the Wâdī Yarmûk. This area was known in the Bible as the Rest of Gilead or Half of Gilead or simply Gilead.² We shall refer to it as North Gilead.³ Some of the sites north of the Wâdī Zerqā have been dealt with in the preceding volume.⁴

This phase of the archaeological exploration of Transjordan by the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, was accomplished during the years 1939-40, 1942-47. That it could be done at all under the circumstances of the

war period is to be attributed to the grace of kindly Providence.

The list of those who assisted us is legion. I mention particularly the following in the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan: Sir Alexander S. Kirkbride, British Minister; el Farik Glubb Pasha, Officer Commanding the Arab Legion; Mr. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator of Antiquities, Department of Antiquities; Rashid Hamid, Subinspector, Department of Antiquities. Since the establishment of the State of Israel and the extension of the authority of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan over areas west of the Jordan, the control, direction, designation, and personnel of the former Palestine Department of Antiquities and Archaeological Museum have changed, but I mention with deep gratitude various of their former officials in the positions they occupied prior to the transformed political situation: Mr. Robert Hamilton, Director of the Department of Antiquities; and the following members of the Palestine Archaeological Museum: Mr. H. J. Iliffe, Curator; Mr. C. N. Johns, Field Archaeologist and Assistant Director of the Department of Antiquities; Mr. S. J. Schweig, Master Photographer, who has prepared all the pottery photograph plates in this book; Dr. Emanuel Ben-Dor, Librarian; Mr. M. Avi-Yonah, Assistant Keeper; Dr. Abraham Cahana, Assistant Record Officer. Mrs, Ina Pommerantz, formerly Secretary of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and Mrs. E. Philip Vogel, Cincinnati, Ohio, have helped with the typing of the manuscript. Mrs. Vogel has also prepared the Index. The pottery drawings were made by Dr. Albert K. Henschel, New York City.

In the Pottery Notes in Chapter VII, the first plate numbers on the left side of the page always refer to the Photographs of Plates 1-118, while the

¹ Annuals XIV. XV. XVIII-XIX.

² Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 153.

³ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 153.

⁴ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, Map Ia.

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next numbers enclosed in parentheses always refer to the *Drawings of Plates* 119-163. The pottery drawings, were all done originally on the 2:5 scale, while those drawn full size originally were marked 1:1 enclosed in a box, thus 1:1. A five centimeter scale was put on each of the plates of artifact photographs and drawings. The spellings of place-names are not always uniform because of the attempt to repeat the local pronunciation. The sherds marked with the letter M in the plates of pottery drawings are located in the Museum of the Department of Antiquities in Amman, Jordan. All the other sherds are in the Smithsonian Museum, Washington, D. C., which, through the medium of the Bruce Hughes Fund of the Smithsonian Institution helped finance the ASOR archaeological expeditions. We are exceedingly grateful to Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for his interest in the work which yielded the results described in this report.

To Dr. Julian Morgenstern, then President of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and to its Board of Governors, the writer is indebted for long leaves of absence to serve as Director of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and thus be in a position to carry on, as opportunity offered, the work of archaeological exploration. Professor Millar Burrows, formerly President of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and Professor William F. Albright, its Vice-President, have by word and deed supported the archaeological explorations of the Jerusalem School. The entire Board of Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research has, by the same token, in every possible way, assisted and encouraged our archaeological explorations of Transjordan, extending over a period from 1932 to 1947. To Professor Albright, the writer is especially indebted for reading and commenting on the manuscript of this volume, and for the great amount of time and care he devoted to checking the proof.

It is believed that the Jerusalem School expeditions overlooked comparatively few of the archaeological sites on the east side of the Jordan Valley, with the exception of some in the area of the junction of the Yarmuk and Jordan valleys. In addition, at least three quarters of the sites of archaeological interest in North Gilead which could have been visited, have been examined, and are reported on in these pages. The investigation of surface finds on additional sites would, most probably, merely underline but not change the conclusions arrived at. Well over two hundred sites have been studied in the highlands of North Gilead alone, certainly sufficient, boxing the compass as they do, to fix fairly firmly the main periods of urban settlement there.

It must be emphasized that the historical conclusions arrived at in the course of our archaeological explorations are based mainly on surface pottery finds, brought into reference with previous archaeological discoveries in Palestine PREFACE

and elsewhere and such literary sources as are available. Flints ⁴⁸ were found among the sherds at many sites. Predominant were sections of small, parallel-sided Canaanean sickle-blades of the EB period. ⁴⁶ Some of the flints belong to the Chalcolithic period, ^{4c} with still others going farther back to the Palaeolithic period, as, e. g., those found at the exclusively flint site of Khirbet Kharâneh (327). ⁴⁴

This volume brings the total of antiquity sites in Transjordan dealt with in Explorations in Eastern Palestine to well over a thousand, and reduces to a reasonable minimum the possibility of having missed any historical periods of permanent, sedentary occupation.⁵ The title of these volumes was selected originally to conform with that used by Conder in his explorations east of the Jordan.^{5a}

The sites will not be described according to the time sequence of their settlement, but according to their geographical location between the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq) and the Wâdī Yarmûk and between the Wâdī Sirḥân and the River Jordan. The dates when the sites were visited are usually given in the footnotes; otherwise, they are the same as the last-mentioned date. Preliminary reports have been published in the Bulletin,⁶ and some general facts and conclusions regarding the Jordan Valley have appeared in The River Jordan.⁷ The designations of periods and their dates follow those listed by Albright and Wright.⁸

NELSON GLUECK

Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio. February 4, 1951.

^{4a} Cf. below, Pl. 112-118, ^{4b} Cf. below, Pl. 112.

^{1c} Cf. Joan Crowfoot in Sukenik, Archaeological Investigations at 'Affula, pp. 72-78; AAA XXII: 3-4, 1935, pp. 174-184; XXIV: 1-2, 1937, pp. 35-51.

⁴d Cf. below, p. 53, n. 84. 86; Pl. 116-118.

⁵ Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77a; FSAC, p. 31.

⁵a Survey of Eastern Palestine.

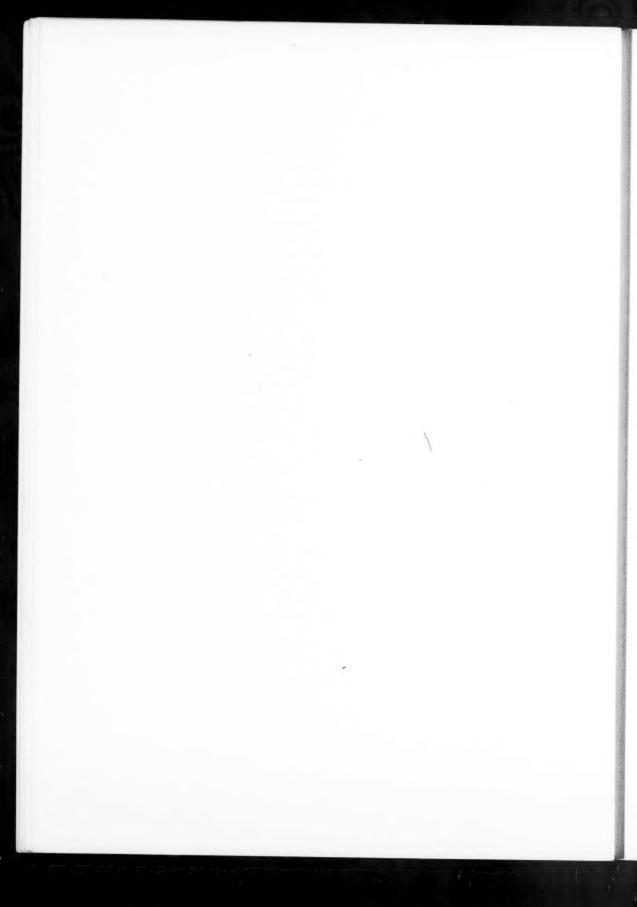
 $^{^{6}\} Bulletin\ 74:2-4;\ 75:22-30;\ 85:3-8;\ 89:2-6;\ 90:2-23;\ 91:7-26;\ 92:10-16.26-27;\ 96:7-17;\ 97:10-22;\ 100:7-16;\ 101:3-20;\ 104:12-20.$

Glueck, The River Jordan, 1946

^{*}ANNUAL XVII, pp. 13-14; XVIII-XIX, pp. xxiii. 251; PPEB, pp. 73-81; Bulletin 71, pp. 27-34; AJA LIII: 2, 1949, pp. 213-215; AP, pp. 65-145; JAOS 70: 1, 1950, p. 57.

The main archaeological periods referred to in these volumes are:

Neolithic: 7th to middle of 5th millennium B.C.; Early Chalcolithic: late 5th millennium B.C.; Middle Chalcolithic: 1st half of 4th millennium B.C.; Late Chalcolithic: 35th to 32nd century B.C.; Early Bronze I: 32nd to 29th cent. B.C.; Early Bronze II: 29th to 26th cent. B.C.; Early Bronze III: 26th to 23rd cent. B.C.; Early Bronze IV: 23rd to 21st cent. B.C.; Middle Bronze I: 21st to 19th cent. B.C.; Middle Bronze II: 19th to 16th cent. B.C. (IIA: 19th-18th; IIB: 18th-17th; IIC: 17th-16th); Late Bronze I: middle of 16th through 15th cent. B.C. (IA: middle of 16th through 1st quarter of 15th; IB: rest of 15th); Late Bronze II: 14th through 13th cent. B.C. (IIA: circa 14th; IIB: circa 13th); Iron I: 12th through 10th cent. B.C.; Iron III: 9th to beginning of 6th cent. B.C.; Iron III: circa 550-332 B.C.; Hellenistic: 332 B.C. to 63 B.C.; Roman: 63 B.C. to 323 A.D.; Byzantine: 323 A.D. to 636 A.D.; Arabic: 636 to 1517 A.D.



I. EASTERN AREA

a. SOUTHERN HAURÂN

Khirbet Mafraq (Khirbet el-Fedein) (247a)

Five km. n. e. of Eidûn (247), and 10 km. e. n. e. of er-Ŗihâb (246) is Kh. Mafraq or Kh. el-Fedein (247a). It is directly on the w. side of the railway line, and, indeed, the ancient site is but a comparatively few meters away from the railway station and from the depots and pumping center of the oil-pipe lines leading from Iraq and terminating in Palestine at the Mediterranean port of Haifa. Mafraq, as its Arabic name implies, is a crossroads, and long has been one, to judge from the ruins visible at the ancient site today. It is situated at the very beginning of the desert, and is located between two systems of small wudyân, one of which, partly under the name of the Wâdī Ghadîr el-Abyad, runs in a general direction northward, paralleled by the railway, until it joins the Wâdī el-Meddân, and the other of which runs generally southward, on a line e. of the railway, till it turns westward and ultimately, under the name of Wâdī Dalîl, joins the e.-w. section of the Wâdī Zerqā.

The foundation ruins of Kh. Mafraq still remain. 10 It consists of parts of walls of a great massive fortress-caravanserai, which is oriented e.-w., and measures roughly 70 by 47 meters. The w. side is the best preserved one, being uniformly two courses high. The n. e. corner is still four courses high, with most of the visible lower course buried. The wall at this point is 3.50 m. high. The great building blocks, of megalithic type, were arranged in headers and stretchers, with the corner block, for example, measuring 2 by 1 by 1.40 m. The manner of construction and size of the building blocks remind one of the massive ruins of Iron I-II found in the Beq'ah, s. of the Wâdī Zerqā, such as Kh. Mudmâr, 11 for instance. Despite careful search, no sherds whatsoever were found to help date the structure.

A short distance to the e. of this large ruined structure, by the side of the present limestone quarry, is a circle of large menhirs, of a type that I have seen previously, for instance, at Kh. Iskander. In no longer believe as I did then, that these menhirs could be dated to the EB period because of the fact that many of them were found on EB sites, where large masses of EB sherds

⁹ June 20, 1939.

¹⁰ Bulletin 86, p. 14; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 75.

¹¹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 192-196.

¹² ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 128.

occurred. There need not be, and indeed I am inclined to believe that there is not any connection between these EB sherds and the *menhirs* which are sometimes found on the same sites with them. They may well precede the period of these sherds, and be contemporary with the dolmen period. Be that as it may, at the present I do not see sufficient evidence firmly to fix a date for them. It were idle to attempt to equate in date the megalithic remains of Kh. Mafraq with the great menhirs near them, because nearness in space to each other is no proof of nearness in time. 14

Jâber (308)

On the track leading from Kh. Mafraq (247a) to Der'a is the settlement of Jâber 15 (308), close to the Syrian border. It is 18.5 km. n. n. w. of Kh. Mafraq, and 15 km, n. e. of Tell Fâ' (244). It is on the w. side of the Ghadîr el-Abyad, and a short distance w. of the railway line. It is situated on a small hill, near the top of which are some modern houses of basalt blocks, including building stones taken from ruins of earlier buildings, Cisterns supplied and still supply water for the inhabitants of the site. At the bottom of the n.e. slope of the hill is a cistern, the top part of which is made of old building stones, including one with a Byzantine cross cut on it. This was once a large site, to judge from the numerous ruins of buildings scattered about. There were numerous Roman sherds of the finest types, with many of them of a thinness and delicacy that invited comparison with finest, undecorated Nabataean sherds. There were no sherds at all, however, which could be definitely called Nabataean, although this site, like Umm el-Jemâl 16 (296), not very far from it, came under Nabataean direction at one time. In addition to Roman sherds, there were numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The remains of a large Byzantine church exist at the s, end of the site. The fields in the neighborhood of this site are planted to wheat at intervals, but it does well only occasionally in this marginal area, which abuts the desert.

Khirbet Samrā (295)

On the track leading s. from Kh. Mafraq (247a) along the w. side of the railway, one comes to the large, sprawled out, ruined site of Kh. Samrā ¹⁷ (295). It is 14.5 km. s. s. w. of Eidûn (247), and 18.5 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Kh. Mafraq. It is about 1.5 km. n. of the e.-w. section of the Wâdī Dalîl, and is e. of the Wâdī el-Jurf which joins the Wâdī Dalîl. The track which leads from

¹³ Cf. below, pp. 77.385-387.

¹⁴ Cf. below, pp. 87.89, discussion of menhir at Mehbethah (266).

¹⁵ April 27, 1944.

¹⁸ Cf. below, pp. 4-18.

¹⁷ June 20, 1939; Bulletin 85, p. 6,

Der'a in Syria to Mafraq to Kh. Samrā to 'Ammân, is on the line of part of the Roman road system which led from Syria to the Red Sea, from Damascus to Aila 18 on the n. shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah. The present automobile track crosses an enduringly built Roman road, about 1.5 km. s. of Kh. Samrā. The road is built of firmly laid boulders, with elevated curbs on either side and one in the middle, providing thus two traffic lanes. Each lane is about 2.30 m. wide. Umm el-Jemâl (296), as other sites in northeasternmost Transjordan, is tied in with this Roman road system.

Kh. Samrā has been frequently visited and described, among others by McCown, who identifies it with Gadda.19 Its extensive ruins belong to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. The Roman and Byzantine phases seem to have been the most important of its history. It is a dismal looking ruin, the building material being basalt. In its original state, built over and around a commanding hillock, Kh. Samrā must have been an imposing traffic and trading center. Numerous cisterns and a large reservoir took care of the water supply. There is evidently also a considerable amount of subsoil water. As late as the war of 1914-18, there were large stands of terebinth trees w. of the site, which were cut down sometime during those years. In addition to its importance as a traffic- and trade-center, Kh. Samrā must have been the center of a sheep-raising area. With the careful husbanding of water supplies, large flocks of sheep and goats and camels could undoubtedly have been maintained even during the dry season. With the depletion of forage supplies in this marginal area, the flocks could easily have been driven a comparatively few km, westward to find sufficient grazing. In the month of June, we found small flocks grazing in the vicinity of Kh. Samrā. The once populous settlement, however, is completely uninhabited today. The only live thing we stirred up while walking through the ruins was a fox.

The sherds found on the surface at Kh. Samrā were predominantly Roman, including numerous pieces of sigillata ware of the Pergamene type and fragments of Roman glass. There were also numerous Byzantine sherds and pieces of glass, and numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds. Because of the comparative nearness of Umm el-Jemâl (296), a great Nabataean center in its day, we made a particularly careful search for fragments of Nabataean pottery. Not a single one could be found, although it is impossible to believe that some Nabataean tradesmen did not visit the site, and that perhaps even some Nabataean merchants and craftsmen were not domiciled there.

¹⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 1-4, 13, n. 56.

¹⁰ Bulletin 39, pp. 18-20; Butler, Syria II, A, 2, App. p. 15; RB 34 (1925), pp. 115-131.

Umm el-Jemâl (296)

In the northeasternmost expanses of Transjordan, in the desert areas e. of the railway and n, of the oil-pipe line, and s, of the Syrian border, we visited a number of sites which flourished especially in Nabataean-Roman and Byzantime times. The chief of these sites is Umm el-Jemâl ²⁰ (296), (Fig. 1-10), which is a little over 15 km, e. s. e. of Kh, Mafraq (247a). It is an astonishing experience to ride across the desert towards the extensive black mass that is pointed out as being the site of the ruins of Umm el-Jemâl, and then suddenly to come across them. A great stretch of massive ruins of houses and khâns and cisterns and reservoirs and churches and cemeteries, all constructed of basalt blocks, spreads out in an empty plain, bare of cultivation. The great ruins of Umm el-Jemâl need not be described in detail here, because they have been fully treated elsewhere.21 At the crossroads of important tracks or roads once heavily traveled between Der'a and the great emporium of Boşrā,²² it was an important commercial center in its own right. It is about 24 km. s. w. of Boşrā. To judge only from large stone corrals seen particularly on the e. and s. e. sides of the ruins, considerable flocks of goats and sheep must have bedded down in them nightly, after having been watered from reservoirs and very large and numerous covered cisterns, one of which seems to be a part of each house-plan. The great reservoir at Umm el-Jemâl, first built in Nabataean-Roman times, is still sufficiently watertight to hold the seasonal rain water, although the site has for centuries been empty of inhabitants. The haunt of shepherds and their flocks, particularly at spring-time, the massive ruins of Umm el-Jemâl are a mockery of its early magnificence. The water caught and husbanded in numerous great covered cisterns and reservoirs in Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine times, sufficed for large flocks of sheep and goats even in the dry season, forage proper being supplied by the dried shrubs left over from the winter and spring growths. Close by Umm el-Jemâl are fields picked comparatively clean of the basalt boulders which litter the landscape. In propitious seasons these fields were optimistically ploughed and planted. There is no question of agriculture on any extensive scale in this bleak region, but a certain amount of dry farming seems occasionally to have been undertaken. Cisterns abound not only in the town itself, but also in the fields round about it.

Striking are the Nabataean inscriptions incised in stone still in position in

²⁰ June 20, 1939; Bulletin 85, pp. 5-6.

²¹ Bruennow and Domaszewski, Provincia Arabia, I, p. 189; II, p. 227; Butler, Syria, II A: 3, pp. 150-213.

²² ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 141.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3. Nabataean inscriptions at Umm el-Jemâl (296).

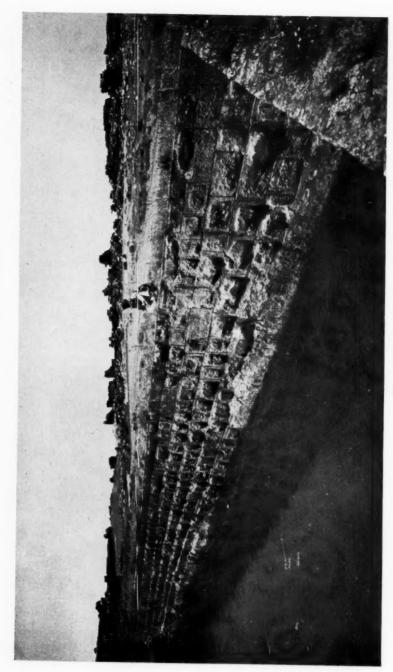


Fig. 4. Umm el-Jemál. Reservoir, with ruins visible beyond.

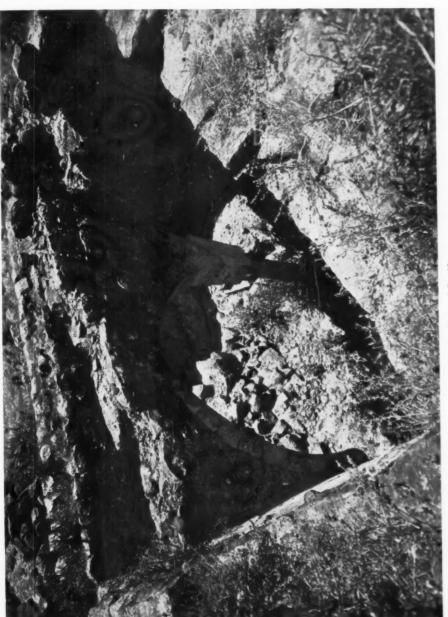


Fig. 5. Umm el-Jemâl. Remains of roofed-over cistern w. of reservoir.



Fig. 6. Umm el-Jemâl. Tower of Byzantine structure.



Fig. 7. Umm el-Jemâl.

Corbel construction of roof of building.

standing walls, or on Nabataean tomb-stele.²³ This site, as others in this region, came under the control of the Nabataeans, the northern extension of whose kingdom reached into Ḥaurân and Jebel Drûz, in southern Syria, with Damascus as the seat of government. To judge from the originally predominant Nabataean influence at Umm el-Jemâl, one would have expected to have found large quantities of typical Nabataean pottery there. However, despite



Fig. 8. Umm el-Jemâl. West Church.

(Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

repeated visits to the site and the most careful examination of its very considerable pottery remains, not a single scrap of the characteristic, fine, thin, painted Nabataean ware was found there. There were, to be sure, pieces of fine, rouletted ware, and some pieces of fine thin ware baked a buff color all the way through, and others of the same type with a drab core between buff surfaces. If these latter pieces had been found with other unquestionably

²³ Butler, Syria II A: 3, pp. 206-207.

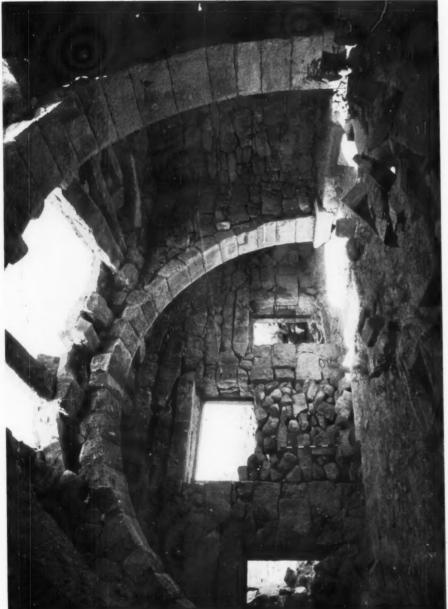


Fig. 9. Umm el-Jemâl. Nabataean temple (?).

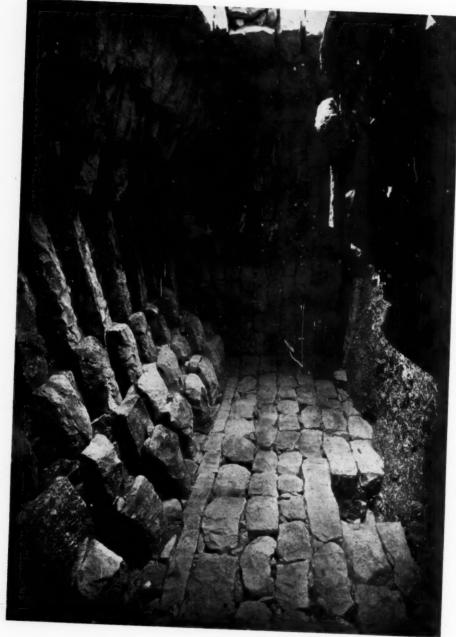


Fig. 10. Umm el-Jemāl. Corbel construction of roof.

Nabataean wares, they too might have been considered as being Nabataean. As it is, they can be identified only as belonging to fine types of Roman period pottery of the first two centuries A. D. To judge from its pottery finds alone, the occupation of Umm el-Jemâl was heaviest in Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine times, and to a lesser degree during the mediaeval Arabic period.

The fact that no distinctive Nabataean pottery was found at Umm el-Jemâl is puzzling. The nature and extent of the Nabataean kingdom have become increasingly clear in recent years as a result of the archaeological explorations and excavations of the expeditions of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.²⁴ It has been demonstrated that that part of the Nabataean kingdom which was located in southern Transjordan, was highly organized and intensively settled. It prospered to a large degree because of the fullest possible agricultural use of the arable land, which previously had been cultivated by the Edomites and Moabites.²⁵ In some marginal regions of these former Edomite and Moabite kingdoms, the Nabataeans carried on even irrigation agriculture, where it was neither previously nor subsequently engaged in.²⁶ The Nabataean civilization during the first centuries B. c. and A. D. became mostly sedentary and largely agricultural.

When the Nabataean kingdom was conquered in 106 A.D. by the Romans, the communities in the former Nabataean state that continued to flourish, did so largely because of the intensive agricultural, and to an ever lessening degree, commercial economy of the Nabataeans. This applies particularly to the southern part of their kingdom. In the northern part of their kingdom, such Nabataean centers as Umm el-Jemâl continued to base their economic life largely on commerce, in addition to considerable animal huṣbandry and fortuitous cultivation of the soil. Throughout all their area, even after the Romans took over political control, the dynamic Nabataeans continued for some time to worship in their old temples and even build new ones, and, in the southern part of their former domain, to manufacture distinctive Nabataean pottery.

Typical Nabataean pottery was found in abundance on all of the approximately 500 Nabataean sites which the expeditions of the ASOR examined in southern Transjordan. It became apparent that n. of a line which may be drawn eastward approximately from the n. end of the Dead Sea through the Mâdebā area to the desert, typical Nabataean pottery could no longer be generally found.²⁷ That line was identical too, it was seen, with the n. boundary

²⁴ Bulletin 85, p. 3.

²⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 138-146.

²⁶ OSJ, pp. 52-55, fig. 21-23; Annual XV, pp. 12-13; XVIII-XIX, pp. 147-150.

²⁷ Bulletin 85, p. 3.

of the s. part of the Nabataean kingdom, as could be determined also from other factors.²⁸

Some Nabataean pottery, to be sure, has been found outside of this restricted area, where it occurs on hundreds of sites. Nabataean sherds have been found at such places as Jerash and Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîveh, and a Nabataean inscription has been picked up at Zîzā.29 It is probable that other small collections of Nabataean pottery will be found elsewhere in Transjordan n. of the Mâdebā line. Recently, several fine, thin, Nabataean bowls, with characteristic, delicate, stylized, painted decorations were found in a tomb in 'Ammân.30 Similar isolated finds will undoubtedly continue to be made from time to time. Indeed, in addition to the presence of large quantities of Nabataean sherds along the Nabataean trade corridor, extending from the Wâdī 'Arabah to the Mediterranean via el-Hosb and Kurnub,31 it is possible that Nabataean pottery should occasionally be found elsewhere in Palestine proper. Nabataean caravans did not stop at the Mâdebā line in Transjordan, but continued on to deliver to and receive goods from the Decapolis to the n. of that line, and on occasion probably to and from areas in Palestine n. of the above mentioned trade-corridor leading to Gaza.32

Such Nabataean caravans brought their own pottery with them on their trips, partly for their own use, and perhaps partly for sale. In addition, Nabataean tradesmen must have settled in such places as 'Ammân and Jerash, and must have preferred to use their own familiar types of pottery, just as Damascus merchants settled in Transjordan villages today bring with them and continue to import articles of their particular liking from Damascus. Be all this as it may, however, the fact remains that outside of the main area of the southern part of the Nabataean kingdom in Transjordan, Nabataean pottery is seldom found (Fig. 11).

This phenomenon of the general absence of typical Nabataean pottery in the Decapolis area in Transjordan becomes all the more striking in view of the well-known existence of an important part of the Nabataean kingdom immediately n. of it in southern Syria. This n. part of the Nabataean kingdom was particularly firmly established, as we have seen, in Ḥaurân and Jebel Drûz, and included or dominated parts of what are now contained in n.e.

²⁸ For the relationship of the southern part of Herodian Perea to the Nabataean kingdom, and the presence of Nabataean sherds just in this part of southern Perea, cf. Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 140.

²⁹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 143.

³⁰ Bulletin 96, p. 8; QDAP XII, pp. 61-62, and Pl. XX: 20-21; cf. below, p. 49.

³¹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 141.

³² ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 141; OSJ, p. 158.

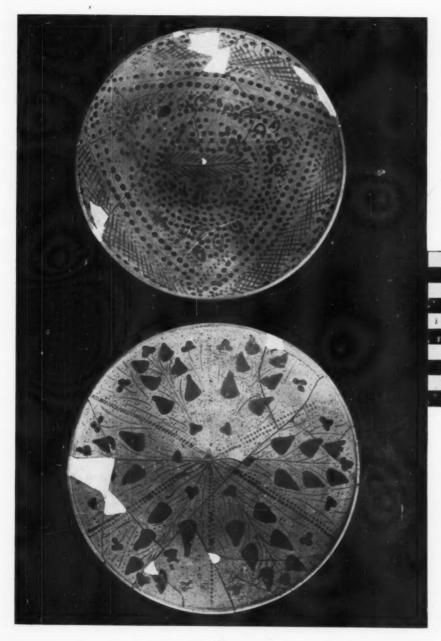


Fig. 11. Shallow, fine, painted Nabataean bowls from 'Ammân, with stylized leaf and grape and vine and palm-branch designs in dark reddish brown paint on thin reddish buff ware.

(Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum and Transjordan Dept. of Antiquities).

Transjordan. It is necessary to examine the nature of the relationship of these two parts of the Nabataean kingdom to each other.

We have previously pointed out why the "royal highway" which connected Nabataean Transjordan with Nabataean Syria through the territory of the Decapolis could not have served as a life-line to connect the two separated parts of the Nabataean kingdom. It could always have too easily been cut, or transit permission simply withheld.³³ The life-line which maintained the undisturbed connection between the parts of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Syria and southern Transjordan, with the latter part continuing into Arabia, is rather, as we have already suggested, to be found in the Wâdī Sirḥân.³⁴ The Nabataeans penetrated into and obtained control of s. Syria via the Wâdī Sirḥân, which led from the Nabataean part of Arabia, connecting Azraq with Jauf. A Nabataean inscription was recently discovered at Jauf, and a squeeze of it is in the possession of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem. And Nabataean Transjordan was integrally connected with Nabataean Arabia, immediately s. of it. The fiction of the present boundary line did not exist then.

We had originally thought that Nabataean pottery would be found in the Wâdī Sirḥân, but for reasons which will be elaborated on below, we no longer believe that to be the case. The fact, however, that large quantities of Nabataean pottery have been found at Aila, on the n. shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah, leads us to believe that large quantities of typical Nabataean pottery ought to exist in Arabia s. of Transjordan at such places, for instance, as Medâ'in Şâleḥ, although none has been reported as having been found there. That may be due to the fact that the archaeologists and explorers who visited it were not acquainted with Nabataean pottery at the time, and therefore did not see what they were not trained to look for. However, the absence of Nabataean pottery where one might expect to find it, does not necessarily signify an absence of Nabataean influence or control.

The failure to find Nabataean pottery, particularly at Umm el-Jemâl (296), leads one to suspect that at none of the Nabataean sites in Haurân and Jebel Drûz will Nabataean pottery be found. The occupation or control of these areas after 85 B.C. by the Nabataeans, and the Nabataean influence which remained there even after their conquest by the Romans in 106 A.D., have already been dealt with.²⁷ If then the suspicion is eventually corroborated by

³³ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 143.

³⁴ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 144-145.

⁸⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 3.

⁵⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 141.

³⁷ Bulletin 85, pp. 6-7; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 141-142.

archaeological examination that there are no Nabataean sherds to be found in Nabataean Syria, it becomes necessary to raise the question of the reason for their absence.

Even assuming a much more complete domination of the Nabataean sites in southern Syria by the Romans after 106 A.D., than of the Nabataean sites in southern Transjordan, it is hard to believe that the production of Nabataean pottery was suddenly terminated then in Nabataean Syria, if indeed it was ever produced there at all. It certainly continued to be produced after 106 A.D. in southern Transjordan. Furthermore, even if, for one reason or another, we were to assume that 106 A.D. marked the definite end of the manufacturing of Nabataean pottery in southern Syria, nevertheless fragments of the pre-106 A.D. Nabataean pottery would have survived in dump-heaps and on the surface of the ground.

The Nabataeans who built typical Nabataean temples in southern Syria at Sî' and Suweidā, for instance, 28 and who left numerous Nabataean inscriptions behind,30 as at Umm el-Jemâl and in Haurân, clearly dominated the life of the region. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to expect to find Nabataean pottery on some of the Nabataean sites there. If none is found, and we are now inclined to believe as a result of the examination of Umm el-Jemâl and related sites n, of the oil-pipe line that none will be found, except perhaps occasionally in insignificant quantities, it becomes necessary to conclude that Nabataean Syria is not to be compared with Nabataean Transjordan. It would appear then that while the Nabataeans dominated southern Haurân and Jebel Drûz, built temples there, were most active in the commercial life of these areas and controlled their political organization, they were nevertheless not settled there in numbers large enough to warrant the production of their own distinctive type of pottery. This is in sharp contradistinction to southern Transjordan, where the Nabataeans settled on every available acre of cultivable soil and overflowed into marginal lands. Haurân and Jebel Drûz could not attract land-hungry Nabataean farmers in the same manner as southern Transjordan uid.

In a word, if subsequent archaeological examination of Ḥaurân and Jebel Drûz confirms what we are inclined to believe is the fact concerning the absence of Nabataean pottery there, then we must regard Nabataean Syria, for the reasons listed, as a colony controlled by the Nabataeans, or as an outlying territory of great strategic and commercial value, rather than as a thickly settled part of the Nabataean state proper, like Nabataean Transjordan which was inhabited thickly by Nabataeans and by Nabataeanized Edomites

³⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 142.

⁸⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 142, n. 470.

and Moabites.⁴⁰ The amazing Nabataeans will then again have demonstrated their versatile qualities, and will have shown themselves anew to have been one of the most remarkable peoples that ever crossed the stage of history. In the desert they could survive and even flourish, where none others could live, because of their dynamic energy and great skill, among other things, in conserving and employing water supplies, which are briefly abundant even there. In the richer lands of Nabataean Transjordan they cultivated the soil with a care that has thus far never been surpassed there. The Nabataeans emerged from Arabia, penetrated and gained control over certain parts of southern Syria, but really dug into and built up the strongest part of their kingdom in southern Transjordan, ⁴¹ where Petra was their central city.

In the desert and semi-desert area in Transjordan n. of the oil-pipe line, Umm el-Jemâl (296) was the largest Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine center. There was a number of related smaller sites in the same area.

Ba'eij (321)

Situated on a small knoll, about 5.5 km. n. w.-n. n. w. of Umm el-Jemâl (296) is Ba'eij 42 (321). It is a completely destroyed site, with one Arab family living in a modern stone hovel, which was built out of some of the litter of the basalt ruins. There is no wood construction whatsoever in this entire area, the buildings being constructed completely out of stone, extending even to the doors. What is particularly striking about this site, which is true also of its fellows, is the very large number of cisterns and of reservoirs, some of them originally roofed-over. On the s. side is a birkeh, about 17 m. square, filled with dirt up to the top of the inner coating of small stones set in lime placed against the inner walls to help make the reservoir water tight. At its n. e. corner, 10 steps are visible leading down into this birkeh.

On the n. side is another birkeh, oriented e.-w., and measuring about 9 by 7 m., and about 9 m. deep. The basalt blocks of its inner walls were covered with a coating of lime and small stones, such as mentioned above. It was originally covered over. Remains of the arches are visible, which supported the stone roof originally over it. Such a roof saved a large amount of the impounded water from escaping through evaporation. In some places in this site and related sites, some of the roofs over these small birkehs are still more or less intact, and are covered with dirt. Were it not for breaks in the roof, one would not be aware at first that one was walking over a large, covered cistern. The stone channels which led the rainwater first to settling tanks and then into the birkehs are now replaced, if at all, by dirt channels, which

⁴⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 146. 41 Bulletin 85, pp. 7-8. 49 May 26, 1944.

conduct not only water but appreciable quantities of sediment into these birkehs, with the result that they have become for the most part largely filled with debris. About 20 m. to the w. of the last mentioned birkeh, is a small cistern, about 5 m. square, modernly repaired, and partly full of water.

On the w. side of the site is still another birkeh, about 12 m. square, with steps leading down into it from its s.e. corner. Parts of several coatings of lime against the inner faces of the birkeh are still visible. This birkeh is in poorest condition, with no attempts having been made to repair and reuse it in modern times. Still, in the rainy season, a pool of water is formed in it, which suffices for weeks afterwards to water small flocks of sheep and goats. We made no attempt to ascertain the complete number of small and large cisterns and reservoirs on this site, but it is already apparent to what lengths the inhabitants went particularly during the Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine periods to catch and conserve the available water supply, derived solely from the winter and spring rains.

The ground was littered with Roman and Byzantine pottery, with some of the former being of the delicate fine types indistinguishable from undecorated Nabataean. A certain amount of dry farming is carried on in the neighborhood of this site, but it consists of little more than scratching the ground and sowing the seeds in the winds of chance.

Sabkhah (318)

Eleven km. e. n. e. of Umm el-Jemâl (296) is Ṣabkhah ⁴³ (318). It is an almost completely destroyed site, with the ruins of numerous basalt buildings spread out over a considerable area. It has the cisterns and birkehs, roofed and open, which are characteristic of all the sites in this region (Fig. 12). A small modern settlement is growing up again among the ruins, with some of the modern houses incorporating whole walls of old ones, and with new houses being rebuilt of old building stones, some of which are recut, usually being hewn down to smaller dimensions. It is interesting to note that the modern techniques of building an entire house almost exclusively of basalt blocks are practically the same as those anciently employed. Numerous arches set closely together to carry stone roof beams used in connection with corbel construction, ⁴⁴ rudely parallel the construction forms employed in Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine times and later in these very same sites. ⁴⁵ I photographed one such modern house in the course of construction, showing the stone scaffolding and filling used to support the building of the arches till the

45 Butler, Syria II A: 3, p. 153.

⁴³ Butler, Syria II A: 2, pp. 112-115.

⁴⁴ Glueck, Christian Kilwa, JPOS XVI, 1936, pp. 9-14; Butler, Syria, II A: 2, p. 68.



Fig. 12. Ancient reservoir at Şabkhah (318), modernly repaired. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 13. Figurine of deity found near Sabkhah, held by a resident of Sabkhah.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 14. Şabkhah (318), modern house construction.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 15. Corbels in position on top of arches of new buildings at Sabkhah. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

key-stones were set in place, and the arches could dispense with support and become functionally independent (Fig. 14.15). The interiors and often the exteriors of the ancient Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine houses and public buildings had a stucco covering over the basalt blocks, 46 thus much relieving the outer drabness. The stucco coverings were frequently decorated with incised lines and both interior and exterior stucco was painted over with bright colors. 47 The modern houses too make use of stucco coverings, particularly on the interior.

Of the various birkehs of ancient origin in Sabkhah, one has been modernly repaired and given an inner coating of cement to make it water tight. A staircase leads down into it, the lower ten steps being covered with water at the time of our visit, on May 26, 1944. The birkeh serves the needs of the small number of Druze inhabitants now settled at this site. They have flocks of goats, engage in some agriculture and in some trade, most of the last of which seemed to me to consist of smuggling contraband goods across the Syrian border, a short distance away to the n. I obtained at this site an enigmatic female pottery figurine, which was said to have been found at Dhibîn, on the n. side of the Syrian border (Fig. 13).

In the courtyard of a modern house constructed out of ancient building blocks, we discovered a much worn Nabataean inscription incised on a basalt stone, which, placed upside down, served as the base of a pedestal (Fig. 16). The first line of the inscription, as deciphered by Père M. R. Savignac, to whom I gave a photograph of it, seems to read wq'mtn (l) t. Père Savignac wrote me in this connection: "Il est assez difficile de donner un sens précis à ces lettres. Le mim n'a pas la forme finale; mais il ne l'a pas toujours nécessairement à la fin des mots. Le signe lu l ou n pourrait, à la rigueuer, être un b (tbt)." The second line of the damaged inscription seems to read, as first pointed out to me by Père Savignac, "in the year 14." 48

There are probably other Nabataean inscriptions at Ṣabkhah, which would be revealed if a systematic examination of the entire site were undertaken, square meter by square meter, and stone by stone. Some of them have previously been found.⁴⁹ Greek inscriptions abounded, most of them being on Byzantine tombstones. A careful catalogue of these inscriptions would be justified. As at the other sites in this region, the occupation, to judge from the fragments of pottery found, was heaviest in Roman and Byzantine times. There were also some mediaeval Arabic sherds. But also at this site it proved impossible to find a single, definitely distinguishable Nabataean sherd. With the

⁴⁰ Butler, Syria II A: 2, pp. 69.115.139.

⁴⁷ Butler, Syria II A: 2, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Bulletin 96, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Butler, Syria II A: 2, p. 113.

examination of each additional site in this area, it became increasingly evident that while the Nabataeans were the masters of this region and its cities, where they lived and died as an important if not numerically superior part of the population, it is nevertheless true that they did not import Nabataean pottery or manufacture it on the spot. They used the regionally produced Roman



Fig. 16. Nabataean inscription at Şabkhah, on a re-used basalt block placed upside down in a pedestal.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

pottery, which was contemporary with the native Nabataean wares produced in southern Transjordan. This Roman type pottery, together with various forms of sigillata, was manufactured at various centers throughout the entire ancient Near East, and sherds found at Ṣabkhah or Umm el-Jemâl of Roman type were indistinguishable from those found, for instance, at Jerash. The Nābataeans introduced their religion and their script and their architecture into the Syrian part of their kingdom, but not their pottery. Nabataean offi-

cials and priests, tradesmen and troops, artisans and agriculturists formed the governing minority of Nabataean Syria, but they are from the dishes of their subjects and clients, eschewing the fragile Nabataean ware produced at home in the heart of their kingdom in southern Transjordan.

Situated 2 km. to the s. e.-e. s. e. of Şabkhah is *Şabkhâyeh*. It is a small, almost completely destroyed site, which may be accounted a suburb of Şabkhah. There is much less left of the ruins of Şabkhâyeh than when Butler visited them and partly planned them.⁵⁰

Dafyaneh (319)

To the e.s. e.-s. e. of Şabkhah, 8.5 km. away, is Dafyâneh ⁵¹ (319). It is an almost completely destroyed site of the same character as Ṣabkhah, but smaller than it. Several new houses have been constructed out of the ruins of the old ones. Like the other related sites, it abounds in cisterns and reservoirs. One of the large cisterns, measuring 7 by 5 m., with a steep staircase leading down into it, was still fairly intact. It was originally roofed over, as evidenced by two strong central arches over it, which are still intact. A short distance from it is a large settling tank, into which water was led from various stone lined channels before it was allowed to flow into the cistern. At this site too were numerous Greek inscriptions hailing apparently from the Byzantine period. There were numerous Roman and Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Patches of cultivation are visible round about the site.

Umm el-Qețein (320)

To the e.n.e.n.e., 7.75 km. from Dafyâneh, is Umm el-Qețein ⁵² (320). It is a very large, completely ruined basalt site, which compares with Umm el-Jemâl (296) in size. It is completely uninhabited today, with the exception of a small police-post, equipped with a wireless sending and receiving set, which nests among the ruins. It is situated in a slightly rolling region, comparatively clear of the maze of basalt stones found some distance to the west of it on the surface of the ground, and which reappear in great patches again as one goes farther east. The description of any one of the previously described sites would fit this one also. There are numerous ruins going back to Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine times particularly, with several Greek inscriptions lying about on the surface. We made no methodical examination of the Greek inscriptions which can be found on the site, and did not look for the Nabataean ones which are known to exist there.⁵³ Like the other sites in

⁵⁰ Butler, Syria II A: 2, pp. 111-112.

⁵¹ Butler, Syria II A: 2, p. 116.

⁵² Butler, Syria II A: 2, pp. 137-142.

⁵³ Butler, Syria II A: 2, p. 137.

this area n. of the pipe-line, this one contains numerous cisterns and reservoirs, which in their originally complete state must have caught and kept great quantities of water. There is one particularly large reservoir there, still generally intact even though much silted up. It alone, when filled by the spring rains, must have held enough water to satisfy the needs of the population there (Fig. 17). We visited five large house-cisterns, two of which were still covered over, and there must have been many more which we did not see. The pottery found on the surface was of the Roman and Byzantine types characteristic of all these sites.

In the courtyard in front of one fairly intact building which is used as a store-house, is a drum of a pillar with a worn Greek inscription on it (Fig. 18). Inside the building, built into an arch, is a reused building stone, on which is a Byzantine cross inside of a raised wreath, and next to which is a raised outline, the original nature of which is now obscure (Fig. 19).

Khirbet Umm el-Menârā (317)

At a point about 16 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Umm el-Qețein (320), where the dirt track from Umm el-Qețein reaches the asphalt road, is a very small, completely destroyed Roman-Byzantine site, probably the equivalent of a small police-post, called Khirbet Umm el-Menârā (317). Several Roman and Byzantine sherds were found there after careful search. The area of the site is being used as a quarry today.

Deir el-Kahf (316)

24 km. e. s. e. of Umm el-Qețein (320) are the ruins of Deir el-Kahf ⁵⁴ (316). They consist mainly of a great ruined qaṣr, built of basalt blocks, standing on a slight rise (Fig. 20-21). A series of rooms is built against the walls on the inside of the qaṣr, most of them being in a state of ruin, but some of them more or less intact, and occupied by some Druze families. The great inner courtyard is a maze of fallen building stones and pillar drums and capitals. The qaṣr, probably first constructed in the Roman period, has been rebuilt several times since then. Large quantities of sherds belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods were found. There is a large gateway on the e. side, and there are square towers at the corners of the structure. There is a birkeh, and traces of other cisterns, inside of the qaṣr, according to Butler, ⁵⁵ but the presence of Druze women and the amount of debris and filth made it impossible to examine the inside of the qaṣr. Butler has published a plan of it. ⁵⁶ Round about the qaṣr are the almost completely

⁵⁴ May 11, 1944; Butler, Syria, II A: 2, pp. 145-148.

⁵⁵ Butler, Syria, II A: 2, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Butler, Syria, II A: 2, p. 146.



Fig. 17. Reservoir, Umm el-Qețein (320), (Phot. Nelson Glucek).



Fig. 18. Greek inscribed drum of pillar at Umm el-Qetein (320). (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 19. Byzantine cross in wreath on arch stone at Umm el-Qetein.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 20. Looking s. w. at Deir el-Kahf (316).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 21. E. gate of Deir el-Kahf. (Phot, Nelson Glueck).

leveled ruins of other and smaller structures, near which several blocked up cisterns were visible. To the n. of the qaṣr are several birkehs, one of which still held water, and apparently is used from time to time. In the fairly open plain round about, wheat is sown. Numerous stone sheep-folds are visible. At the time of our visit on May 11, 1944, we were caught in a downpour of rain, which covered the land with sheets of water flooding southwards towards the Azraq basin.

Butler seems to assume in his discussion of the numerous basalt sites in southern Ḥaurân, only a few of which we visited and are mentioning in this report, that the climate there several thousand years ago was different from what it is today, and that as comparatively recently as Roman times general fertility prevailed in place of present barrenness. He asserts in connection with Deir el-Kahf: ⁵⁷

"It is quite certain that the region was not desert in ancient times; . . . remains of ancient walls that divided fields, and traces of furrows still remain as evidence of former civilization. These signs of former fertility extend farther to the south and southeast, as far as the eye can see."

And with regard to Umm el-Jemâl Butler says: 58

"The water supply of Umm idj-Djimal was well provided for. Needless to say, the dry, sandy, and pebbly bottom of the wadi west of the city was, in ancient times, the bed of a perennial stream. The dam above the city retained the water for distribution, through the aqueduct, into the various reservoirs. There were no less than four reservoirs fed by the aqueduct, beside a number of independent birkehs, or cisterns, that were replenished with rain water from the roofs of buildings. It is an open question whether the reservoirs and cisterns were built of necessity, for the conservation of water during an annual dry season; but it is certain that they were made for convenience; for they are so planned that every group of residences had its supply of water near at hand."

There is no reason whatsoever to assume that the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ w. of the city once contained a perennial stream. Like the other $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ s in this region it is filled with water in the rainy season, but ordinarily only as long as the rain persists or for a limited period thereafter. The reservoirs and eisterns and dams and aqueducts were obviously built because otherwise not sufficient water could be obtained when the rains stopped. In historical times the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ w. of Umm el-Jemâl never had a perennial stream, and was like almost all, if not indeed absolutely all of the $wudy\hat{a}n$ in southern Ḥaurân in this respect. The soil was neither more nor less fertile, except insofar as unwise agriculture may have exhausted some of it, and the climate was materially the same. All that has changed, and that is a lot, is the character of the civilization which particularly in Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine times made all of Ḥaurân and Jebel Drûz

⁵⁷ Butler, Syria, II A: 2, p. 145.

 $^{^{58}}$ Butler, $Syria,\ II\ A:3,\ p.\ 159.$

an intensively occupied area, dotted with villages and towns and police-posts and the like. Commerce vitalized it, dry farming carried on to as intensive a degree as possible helped sustain it, elaborate systems of dams and reservoirs and cisterns provided the sole method of storing supplies of rain water to carry the large population and their flocks through the dry months of the year. When as a result of political changes commerce dwindled and disappeared, and populations melted away, the cities of Haurân and Jebel Drûz became largely empty shells destined to fall increasingly into ruin. As a result of the downfall of Rome and then Byzantium, the stage was set for the rise and spread of Islam as a political power. The waning and disappearance of the power of the former and the emergence of the latter culminated in the changing of trade-routes, the recasting and shifting of populations, and the abandoning of large areas of settlement and agriculture. These were the changes, and such were in general the political and human factors, which emptied Umm el-Jemâl and Umm el-Qetein and the towns and villages like them of life. These cataclysms which had the effect of transforming the Sown into Desert, or of making it impossible fully to exploit semi-marginal lands were not dependent upon climatic factors. There was most probably no more and no less water in Jebel Drûz and Ḥaurân in Roman times than there is now, and the soil is largely the same. Given similar favorable political conditions and dynamic humans, Umm el-Jemâl and all the cities like it could again become throbbing centers of creative human activity.59

$J\hat{a}w\bar{a}$ (315)

On the s. side of the Wâdī Râjil is the small site of Jâwā (315), which is 18 km. e.n. e.-n. e. of Deir el-Kahf (316). There are other, more important sites along or near the Wâdī Râjil, which we did not visit, such as "Iṣ-Ṣafîyeh," "Buraķ," and "Khâzimeh," which Butler reports on. 60 Jâwā marks the location of a small, filthy spring, below the w. end of which a crude birkeh, about 20 m. in circumference, has been dug. There are two more birkehs to the e. of it. The spring is on the lower part of a gentle slope which leads towards the wâdī some distance beyond it. The entire region is a forbidding black basalt one, with great and small black boulders lying about, and with the furrowed, frowning hills rising above the n. side of the wâdī to lend further gloom to the surroundings. They would make an excellent stage setting for Dante's Inferno. We found some scraps of Roman, Byzantine, and glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds, in addition to numerous

^{5b} Avi-Yonah, In the Days of Rome and Byzantium (Hebrew text), pp. 187.188; Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p. 35.

⁶⁰ Syria II A: 2, pp. 123-129.

prehistoric, worked flints. There are some modern Arabic burials. There was probably never more than a small police-post at Jâwā (Fig. 22).

Burga'ah (314)

96 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of Jâwā (315), and 23 km. n. w.-w. n. w. of the oil-pumping station H 4 on the Iraq Oil Company pipe-line, is Burqa'ah (314). We were able to stay there only a few minutes, because the rain began to fall



Fig. 22. 'Ain Jâwā (315). (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

in torrents shortly after we got there on May 10, 1944, and we had to race across the flat, bare fields back to the macadamized road, which we barely made after careening wildly across the softening plain. Otherwise we could have been stuck with our car there for many days. We could do little more than hastily take several photographs, look for and gather up fragments of pottery, and wander hastily among the ruins, before the gathering intensity of the storm compelled us to flee. The ruins seem to consist of the remains of a large caravanseral and a fortified qaşr or guard-post, which dominated the surrounding country. It was obvious from the cursory glance that we

were able to cast at the ruins, that they had experienced several periods of rebuilding. The original period, to judge from the fragments of pottery found, probably went back to Nabataean-Roman times. The qaṣr was probably rebuilt several times during the Byzantine period and perhaps to a certain degree during the mediaeval Arabic period. There were Roman and Byzantine sherds, but we were not able to look long enough to see whether or not in addition there were some mediaeval Arabic sherds. The qaṣr stood inside of a great enclosing wall, which was built less well than the qaṣr itself. The qaṣr was originally two stories high (Fig. 23).

The fact of our being there when the rains fell in such torrents proved to be important, I believe, for our understanding of the reasons determining the building of the gast originally at this particular site. It overlooks a normally dry wâdī, - Wâdī Umgât (?)-, which as a result of several days' rain preceding our advent to this place, and of the rains of the day, had been filled with water, and transformed into a running seil. Anyone visiting it for the first time, and not acquainted with the nature of the country and its weather conditions might have felt convinced that he was looking at a perennial stream. Great pools of water flood over the banks of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ proper, and are long held in extensive hollows. We did not have time to examine if there were any dams or reservoirs in connection with this site, as there undoubtedly are. The fact, however, is well known, that these pools of water are so extensive, that even when the flood waters in the wadi proper ebb and disappear, the pools remain for months before they are used up or evaporate. As soon as the rains begin, the Bedouins by their tens and hundreds, in scores of encampments, with great flocks of sheep and goats and camels, make camp by Burqa'ah and sites like it, and remain there for months till the water has been depleted and the forage made the flocks fat. Just as now, after the rains, when large encampments of Bedouins are assembled at Burqa'ah, the Transjordan Government maintains a small police-post there, so in Roman and Byzantine times did the governments of the day maintain a police-post there and a caravanserai for the welfare of the travelers who passed by in large numbers along the important trade highway which connected all of these Roman and Byzantine sites in southern Haurân.

Throughout the deserts of Transjordan, after the spring rains, the Bedouins search out every hollow where water has collected, and stay in the vicinity with their flocks till their charges have exhausted this bounty. Between Qaşr Kharâneh ⁶¹ and the Wâdī Sirḥân, several days after the last rain in the spring of 1944, I saw far out in the howling wilderness flocks being watered at such

⁶¹ OSJ, pp. 38-39.



Fig. 23. The wadf-bed below Burqa'ah (314), filled with rain water on May 10, 1944.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

places. I photographed one such flock with its shepherd by the side of a pool of water in a natural depression e. of Muwaqqar ⁶² (Fig. 24). It is during this period of spring, immediately following the rains, that the grim and gray barrenness of the deserts of Transjordan is hidden under an enchanting cover of green, with grasses and flowers and shrubs adorning the earth with gladdening lushness. It is then that one first fully understands the words of the ecstatic song: "For, lo, the winter is past; the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of singing is come" (Song of Songs 2:11.12).

b. WÂDĪ SIRHÂN

Wâdī Sirhân

The examination of that part of southern Haurân which is contained in northeastern Transjordan, led to the examination subsequently of the Transjordan parts of the Wadī Sirhan by the joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. The absence of typical Nabataean pottery at Umm el-Jemâl and the related sites we examined in the Transjordan part of southern Haurân leads us to assume its general absence in all of Haurân and Jebel Drûz, despite the well known presence of Nabataean temples and tombs and other Nabataean buildings there and the large number of Nabataean inscriptions found in connection with them. It seemed natural therefore to expect that distinctive Nabataean sherds would not be found in the Wâdī Sirhân, however much we continued to maintain, as we do, that the Wadī Sirhan was the lifeline between the separated parts of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Syria and Nabataean Arabia, which latter included southern Transjordan, where there existed the richest, most deeply rooted, and distinctively Nabataean part of the entire Nabataean kingdom. 63 This expectation of an absence of distinctive Nabataean pottery in the Wâdī Sirhân was underlined by our examination in April 1944 of all of those parts of the Wadī Sirhan which are included within the eastern limits of Transjordan. Not a scrap of distinctive Nabataean pottery was discovered by our expedition, and it may be assumed that none exists in all of the Wadī Sirhan, despite the now incontrovertible presence of Nabataean inscriptions there. I should like to express here also our thanks to el-Farik Glubb Pasha, Officer Commanding the Arab Legion, to Broadhurst Bey and to Said Bey, both also of the Arab Legion, whose assistance made possible our archaeological exploration of the Transjordan parts of the Wadī Sirhan.

⁶² See below, pp. 54.56.

⁶⁸ Cf. Bulletin 85, p. 4; 96, p. 11.



Fig. 24. Rain pool in hollow in Transjordan desert e. of el-Muwaqqar (309).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

The Wâdī Sirḥân extends from Azraq 64 in n. e. Transjordan to within ten miles of Jauf in north central Arabia. A Nabataean inscription has been discovered in Jauf, and Père Savignac of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française has prepared a translation of it from a squeeze made available to him. The Wâdī Sirḥân bends from n. w. to s. e., is about 210 miles long and averages about 20 miles in width. In some sections, however, it is about 35 miles wide, and in others only 8. Jauf, which is one of the few oases in Arabia, has from days of old long been a caravan center, and was an important Nabataean post. It lies in its own small depression, which measures some 5 by 3 miles. About 12 miles e. of it is the Skakā depression, which measures about 14 by 8 miles at its greatest extent, and in a general way may be connected with the Wâdī Sirhân.

Whoever controls the Wâdī Sirhân commands a direct travel-route between Syria and Arabia. Its northern end is in Transjordan, and its western side forms or is very close to much of the easternmost boundary of Transjordan. Most of the Wâdī Sirhân belongs at the present to the territory of Sa'ûdī Arabia, ruled over by King Abdul 'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd. Moslems may enter it freely, but to others it is difficult of access. Ibn Sa'ûd has long been aware of the strategic importance of the Wâdī Sirhân and is jealous of his prerogatives there. Its value lies furthermore in its surface and underground supplies of water and the excellent grazing it affords in season. It was mainly through the avenue of the Wâdī Sirhân that the Nabataeans were able to penetrate into southern Syria and to obtain a strong foothold there. 65

The physical characteristics of the Wâdī Sirḥân are surprising to one who is accustomed to topography usually associated with the term $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which is roughly equivalent to our arroyo. The Wâdī Sirḥân is nothing at all like the Wâdī 'Arabah, for instance, or the Wâdī Ḥesā or the Wâdī Môjib, or like any of the lesser $wudy\hat{a}n$ which have been visited by the School's expeditions in the course of its archaeological survey of Transjordan. The Wâdī Sirḥân is a long and very shallow depression, which in reality is an eastward extension of the flattish, flint and basalt-covered plain forming the eastern part of the Transjordan desert. This desert extends to and beyond the e. boundary of Transjordan.

The main part of the Transjordan plateau slopes westward. Commencing as high plateau land in the desert, it soon changes into fertile hilly country, which finally plunges down to the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea and the Wâdī 'Arabah. (A similar abrupt drop occurs at the s. end of the Transjordan

⁶⁴ ANNUAL XIV, p. 72; OSJ, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁵ Bulletin 85, pp. 6-7; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 144-145.

⁶⁶ The Biblical Archaeologist, 1946, p. 54.

plateau to the Wâdī Ḥismeh, which is a weird, hill-studded desert stretching below the Neqb Shtâr and continuing into Arabia.) ⁶⁷ This area is a huge catchment basin for the seasonal rains, and brings much of it westward in numerous perennial streams to the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. Several perennial streams also reach the Wâdī 'Arabah from the hills to the e. of it. All of this area marks the w. watershed of Transjordan.

The slope of the e. watershed commences at a line along the length of east central Transjordan. This line is marked approximately by the Omayyad castles of Qaṣr Ḥallabât, Qeṣeir 'Amrah, Qaṣr Kharâneh, Qaṣr et-Tūbah, and by the Nabataean post of Bâyir. The land slopes very gently eastward from this line down to the Wâdī Sirhân, with which it imperceptibly merges. The slope is so gradual, that when one travels from Qaṣr Kharâneh eastward, as I did, one finds that one has arrived in the Wâdī Sirhân without having become cognizant of any transitional stage.

It is worth repeating that the flint and basalt-covered hamad desert which leads down ever so gently from the Transjordan side eastward merges almost imperceptibly with the Wâdī Sirḥân. Only n.e. and e. of the Wâdī Sirḥân are there ranges of hills, from which there is a marked descent to it. Coloured maps marking the Wâdī Sirḥân and its surroundings are generally misleading, because they portray it in the same deep green, as opposed to the surrounding variations of brown, in which really deep wudyân are depicted in contrast to the brown of the hills or high plateaus through which, for instance, such a wâdī as the Wâdī Môjib (Biblical Arnôn) cuts a path for itself.

The Wâdī Sirḥân is a wâdī only in the sense that it is an extensive catchment basin for rain and run-off waters. On the whole it is so flat, that one can ride about in it in an automobile at fairly high speed. I have witnessed the unsportsmanlike chase of gazelles by car in the northern part of the Wâdī Sirḥân. I understand that official personages have engaged in these large-scale gazelle hunts in the Wâdī Sirḥân proper, using as many as 50 cars at a time to run the fragile creatures to death. The point here is that the Wâdī Sirḥân is flat enough to permit such mechanized butchering expeditions to take place. One can, as a result, predict the speedy extermination of gazelles from the Wâdī Sirḥân, just as the oryx and ostrich have been exterminated from it and other parts of Arabia and Transjordan.

The Wâdī Sirhân, as also the lateral approaches to it, are marked by minor $wudy\hat{a}n$, which, on the whole, are little more than rills or ripples in the ground, along which the rain water runs off after an occasional downpour in winter and early spring. These frequently quite broad, furrowed, extremely shallow

68 OSJ, pp. 35-43.

⁶⁷ Annual XV, pp. 53, 58, 61, 71, 72, 112; XVIII-XIX, pp. 25, 139.

channels for run-off water are usually marked by thick growths of low bushes and shrubs. It is bumpy for an automobile crossing them, but otherwise they are no deterrent to travel, except of course when they are filled with water, or before the ground has sufficiently dried. However, even in the hamad desert where the ground is fairly flat, and covered with a thin layer of flint or



Fig. 25. A characteristic basalt- and flint covered part of the Wâdī Sirḥân. Car wheels sink easily into the sand beneath the thin covering of pebbles and stones, especially following the occasional winter and spring rains.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

basalt-stones, one's automobile can easily sink down through the upper crust of soil and become bogged down in the sandy loam below (Fig. 25).

It rains only infrequently in the easternmost desert of Transjordan and in the Wâdī Sirhân even during the rainy season, but sometimes then it rains torrentially for days on end. I have seen large areas in and near the 'Azraq region' covered with solid sheets of water following such a rainfall early in May 1944. Every hollow becomes a small reservoir, holding a considerable amount of water for days and weeks, and, as we have seen, even for months at a place like Burqa'ah.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See above, pp. 31-32.

'Azraq

Rainwater runs off the southern slopes of Jebel Drûz and along the eastern slope of the Transjordan watershed into the Wâdī Sirḥân. Much of this water sinks underground, and reappears then in the Wâdī Sirḥân in several swampy (sabkhah) areas and at various water holes along its length. The largest amount of water is contained in the marshes and lake of the 'Azraq depression, located at the n. w. end of the Wâdī Sirḥân. Dominating the 'Azraq swamps are the ruins of a large mediaeval Arabic fort and caravanserai, which replaced an earlier Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine one (Fig. 26, 27). There is a modern police-post and fort of the Arab Legion nearby. 'Azraq 'o was the end-station of the caravan-route which leads along the Wâdī Sirḥân from Jauf en route to Syria.

'Amri (310)

About 25 km. s.-s. e. of 'Azraq is 'Amrī ⁷¹ (310) in the Wâdī Sirḥân. It is already well inside the Wâdī Sirḥân proper, and fortunately is still within the confines of Transjordan. It is about 85 km. due e. of the Ḥejāz railway. Next to 'Azraq, the water obtainable at 'Amrī forms the best source of water supply in the Wâdī Sirḥân proper. The site of 'Amrī consists of a sabkhah area, about 5 sq. km. in extent. In numerous places, the underground water wells up to the surface. Elsewhere in this area, it is possible to find it by digging down less than half a meter, although at times it is necessary to break through a limestone layer half a meter thick, more or less (Fig. 28. 29). When the desert sands or debris fill up one water-hole, or when the water is too fouled to drink, it is a comparatively simple task to dig out another water-hole. From ancient times on, undoubtedly, caravans have made 'Amrī a halting place. Water-skins were refilled there before proceeding on to 'Azraq or turning off westwards towards 'Ammân or Mâdebā by the route that touches Qaṣr Kharâneh and el-Muwaqqar.⁷²

When we arrived at the sabkhah of 'Amrī, we found herds of camels grazing and being watered there (Fig. 30. 31). There are some shabby palm-trees near one of the water-holes. Close to them is a sand-covered hillock, which looks as though it might conceal the remains of a small ruin. On and around it were fairly numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds. Indeed, scattered throughout the entire area, we found small quantities of sherds of these periods. However,

⁷⁰ Bulletin 96, pp. 11-14; Butler, Syria II. A. 2, pp. 100, 110, 116; II. A. 4, p. 225; II A. 5, ill. 281; II. A. 2, Appendix, pp. ix, xl.

⁷¹ May 6, 1944; Bulletin 96, pp. 14. 15.

⁷² QDAP XII, pp. 63-74; see below, p. 54.

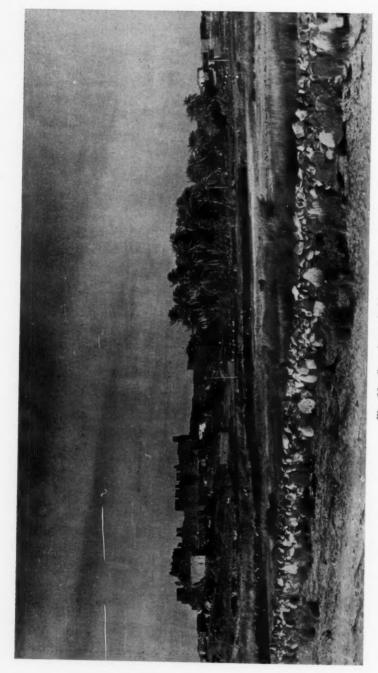


Fig. 26. Qaşr Azraq, looking north. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

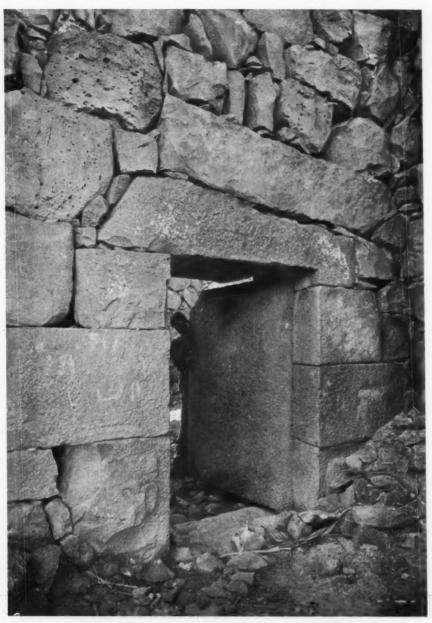


Fig. 27. Qaşr Azraq. Stone door at outside of west central tower. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

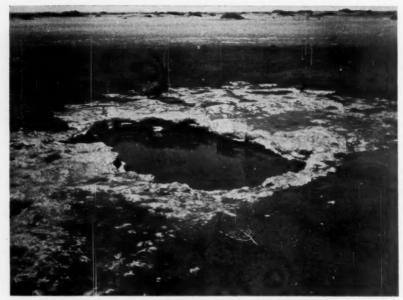


Fig. 28. Water hole at 'Amri (310) in the Wâdi Sirhân. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 29. Water hole at 'Amrī (310). (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 30. Herd of camels near 'Amrī in the Wâdī Sirhân.



Fig. 31. Ibn Wardeh camel herdsmen of the esh-Sheråreh Arabs near 'Amri in the Wâdī Sirḥân.
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

as we had feared, not a single sherd was found which could indubitably be identified as being Nabataean.

Khirbet 'Amrī (311)

We looked in vain at 'Amrī for the remains of some sort of a gasr or khân, which would correspond more in size to what might have been expected to have existed at a place such as this, but found nothing except the possibility of the above-mentioned hillock, which might possibly conceal the remains of a small ruin. Our quest, however, was not to prove completely in vain. About a km. s. of this sabkhah area of 'Amrī, we came across the ruin of a very large caravanserai, which stretched over an area almost a km. long. It was apparently at this site, which for want of a better designation I am calling Khirbet 'Amrī (311), that the caravans halted, while their beasts were watered at the wells of nearby 'Amri, and were allowed to forage among the shrubs of the sabkhah. The buildings at Khirbet 'Amrī were constructed of soft sandstone, which has withstood the passage of time most poorly (Fig. 32). The stone practically crumbles at touch. The buildings seem to consist of single rooms or of a series of small chambers, and appear generally to be one room or at the most several rooms thick. There seem to have been long rows of these barracks, which today are represented by long hillocks, representing their ruins covered over with debris. Very large quantities of Roman and particularly of Byzantine sherds were found around them. There is no way of telling without careful excavations, so far as I can judge, to which period the buildings originally belonged. Among the hundreds of sherds that I examined there, again not a single one was found that I could have beyond doubt in my mind identified as being Nabataean.

From the pottery remains examined at 'Amrī and elsewhere in the Wâdī Sirḥân, I am now confident that Nabataean sherds will in general no more be found there than they have been in southern Ḥaurân or probably will be in Jebel Drûz. This fact does not diminish the importance of the Wâdī Sirḥân as a jugular vein, so to speak, between widely separated parts of the Nabataean kingdom, any more than the absence of distinctively Nabataean sherds at Umm el-Jemâl, for instance, negates the presence of Nabataeans and Nabataean architecture and Nabataean inscriptions there or elsewhere in Ḥaurân and Jebel Drûz. It may be well, however, to mention here again the discovery of a Nabataean inscription at Jauf, which contributes to the evidence that Jauf and the Wâdī Sirḥân were of importance in the Nabataean economy.

Meshâsh Khadraj (312)

From 'Amrī (310, 311), we drove s.-s. e. along the w. edge of the Wâdī

Sirḥân for about 150 km., coming finally to the very shallow Wâdī Khadraj, which runs into the Wâdī Sirḥân. There, at a point called Meshâsh Khadraj (312), 73 which is about 175 km. e. of the Ḥejāz railway, a number of waterholes has been dug into the dry bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. We counted six of them, and



Fig. 32. Building stones of Khirbet 'Amrī (311) in the Wâdī Sirḥân.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

the number probably varies from time to time. The Bedouins tap the underground water supply, which rises to a level only a short distance below the surface of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ -bed. It was, apparently, from prehistoric times on, an important halting place for caravans. On the rising slopes above it we found numerous early flints, as well as many Roman and Byzantine sherds. This point is about 25 km. w. of the Wâdī Sirḥân (Fig. 33. 34).



Fig. 33. A water hole in the Wâdī Khadraj. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 34. One of the sandstone hills of Jebel Dhewâyil n. of the Wâdī Khadraj. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

c. DESERT SITES

Kilwā (326)

From the Wâdī Khadraj one can journey directly to the Jebel Tubaiq, where in 1932 a joint expedition of the School in Jerusalem and the Transjordan Department of Antiquities visited and recorded the prehistoric rock-drawings of Kilwā and the Christian monastic settlement there.⁷⁴

Bâyir (325)

From Kilwā we returned northwestward to 'Ammân via Bâyir, which I have described elsewhere. 75 A fine Nabataean castle once existed there to guard the deep wells, which still make it a most important camping place (Fig. 35. 36). A modern Arab Legion police-post, built, one suspects, largely out of building stones taken from the Nabataean castle which was still standing there at least in ruins when Gertrude Bell visited it, now dominates the site. Wherever one turns there, one finds innumerable fragments of fine, fragile, unmistakable Nabataean sherds, decorated with the stylized painted designs so characteristic of Nabataean pottery. This is in sharp contrast to the pottery finds in the Wâdī Sirhân and the Umm el-Jemâl regions. At a place like Bâvir, which was a strong eastern outpost of the sedentary, agricultural part of the Nabataean kingdom, and which also was an important junction of desert tracks leading to and from the Wâdī Sirhân some hundred km. to the e, of it in a straight line (-a track which led via Petra, Jafar, and Bâyir-), it is understandable that distinctive Nabataean pottery should be found in large quantities. Bâyir was garrisoned by Nabataeans who were recruited probably from some of the numerous towns of Nabataean Transjordan, and who, together with Nabataean tradesmen and others who frequented Bâyir, and above all the Nabataean royalty who may have used it as spring headquarters, brought with them the familiar wares of their home households. Similarly, along the Nabataean trade-route leading across the Wâdī 'Arabah to Gaza and Ascalon via Kurnub and the cities of the Negeb, 76 there were apparently large, homogeneous communities of Nabataeans who preferred their own pottery, which they either made locally or brought with them. It was but a comparatively short haul to bring Nabataean pottery to the settlements along this route, inasmuch as it seems to have been extensively produced at Bir Madhkûr in the Wâdī 'Arabah.77

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⁷⁴ JPOS XVI, pp. 9-16; OSJ, pp. 43-49; AJA XXXVII, pp. 381-386.

⁷⁵ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 73-75.

⁷⁶ Bulletin 96, p. 17; ANNUAL XV, pp. 16, 114.

⁷⁷ ANNUAL XV, pp. 35-37.



Fig. 35. Arab Legion police-post at Bâyir (325).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 36. A well at Bâyir about 20 meters deep, showing rope grooves worn in limestone rock of casing. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

This Nabataean pottery, as has been pointed out in detail in Annuals XIV, XV, and XVIII-XIX, has been found by the School's archaeological expeditions on hundreds of sites in the southern part of the agricultural section of Transjordan, in the former territories of Edom and Moab. The spread of this pottery extended then as far east as Bâyir, but not as far as the Wâdī Sirḥân. It reached westward generally as far as the Wâdī 'Arabah, and as has been pointed out, projected along the Nabataean trade-route which led to the Mediterranean coast of Palestine. While isolated discoveries of a few fragments or even several complete plates of Nabataean pottery have been made and probably will continue to be made in places like 'Ammân 's and Jerash and Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh,' the conclusion forces itself that typical Nabataean pottery such as abounds for instance at Petra was produced and used primarily only in the thickly settled, agricultural part of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Transjordan, whose metropolis was Petra.

Dam in Wâdī Dhôbai (313)

The importance of the conservation of water, even in the desert, was emphasized particularly during the Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine periods. We have seen how carefully it was caught and kept in places like Umm el-Jemâl. In the Negeb in Palestine, where the rainfall was and is inadequate for ordinary agriculture, dams and cisterns were built in these periods enabling settlements to be established and survive. 80 The dams at Kurnub 81 form an outstanding example of this type of amazing enterprise (Fig. 37, 38). One dam in particular there, built across the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ below Kurnub is still in an excellent state of preservation. It cannot have been constructed any later than the Byzantine period. Even in the wastes of the desert in eastern Transjordan and elsewhere in the ancient Near East, dams were built to catch the flash floods of the rainy seasons. 82 We came across such a dam (313),84 built probably by the Romans, in the Wâdī Dhôbai, far from any permanent settlement, to catch the freshets caused by occasional rains and thus provide water for numerous flocks (Fig. 39-41). This dam is about 85 km. n. w.-n. n. w. of Bâyir, and some 58 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of 'Amrī (310) in the Wâdī Sirhân, and 38 km. s. w.-s. s. w. of Qaşr Kharâneh. The main wall of the dam is still in

⁷⁸ QDAP XII, pp. 58-62; cf. above, p. 14.

⁷⁰ Bulletin 85, p. 3; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 143.

⁸⁰ ANNUAL XV, pp. 114-119.

⁸¹ ANNUAL XV, p. 114; OSJ, p. 173; RJ, pp. 118-119; Musil, Arabia Petraea, II, p. 27.

⁸⁸ ANNUAL XV, pp. 56-57.

⁸³ May 8, 1944; RJ, p. 119.



Fig. 37. Main dam at Kurnub. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 38. Section of the main dam at Kurnub. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 39. Dam in Wâdī Dhôbai. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 40. W. part of dam in Wâdī Dhôbai. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

excellent condition on the whole. We made no attempt to measure it exactly, being able to spend only a very few minutes in the vicinity. The width of the top of the dam is 5.50 m., and its length on the top is about 57.8 m. The top of the outer s. face of the wall is flush with the silt which has filled up the $w\hat{a}d\hat{a}$ -bed on that side. There is a drop of some 6 m. on the inner side down



Fig. 41. E. part of dam in Wâdī Dhôbai.
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

to the bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, enabling 15 courses of stones to be seen. The rows of stones are set back successively about 12 cms. from each other. There are 3 piers buttressing the inner side of the dam. Many of the stones of these buttressing piers have been dislodged and fallen to the ground.

There are supposed to be the remains of another dam, much less well preserved, farther down the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. We were unable to locate them in the time at our disposal. The analogy thus with the dams at Kurnub becomes a compelling one. About 500 m. from the main dam, the Wâdī Dhôbai bends eastward, and there is a deep drop in its bed, with a great hole scoured out as if by a strong waterfall. This waterfall probably exists for a brief while when the $w\hat{a}d\hat{\imath}$ is

in flood. At the time of our visit on May 8, 1944, there was a pool of putrid water in it. No greater testimony to the dynamic quality of the population and rulers of the country in the first centuries A.D., and to the peace and enterprise which prevailed, could be furnished than by dams such as these. The impounded rainwater served great flocks long after the brief rainy seasons had passed.

We found some early prehistoric flints on the slopes above the Wâdī Dhôbai near the main dam. Sir Alexander Kirkbride also has reported finding quantities of early flints above the main dam. Waechter had previously discovered and excavated evidence of Tahunian settlements in the Wâdī Dhôbai.⁸⁴

Khirbet Kharâneh (327)

Approximately 38 km. n. e.-n. n. e. of the dam in the Wâdī Dhôbai (313) is the site that I have arbitrarily named Khirbet Kharâneh.⁸⁵ The site was discovered by Sir Alexander Kirkbride, who took me with him on a subsequent occasion to show it to me. It is about 800 m. s. w. of Qaṣr Kharâneh,⁸⁶ one of the famous Omayyad castles in the central Transjordan desert. Khirbet Kharâneh consists of a low rise in the middle of a great, shallow depression, and measures roughly about 190 by 98 m. It is littered with worked flints and cores from which many of them were hewn, belonging to the Upper Palaeolithic Period (Pl. 116-118). There were several smaller sites in the vicinity covered with similar flints.

I envisage climatic conditions in the desert during the Upper Palaeolithic Period approximating those of today. The nomads and semi-nomads encamped in this region during the spring months found workable flint rock there, and proceeded to make all their tools out of it, such as scrapers, knives, awls, burins, axes. There are probably hundreds of sites like this one in the desert. We have mentioned those in the Wâdī Dhôbai. Henry Field has reported finding Chellean flints in the Wâdī Bâyir. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator of Antiquities of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, has located other prehistoric flint sites in the Transjordan desert. On this April 1945 trip from Ammân to Qaşr Kharâneh and Khirbet Kharâneh, we passed over 50 Bedouin encampments containing from 5 to 50 tents. Wherever one looked there were large herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats grazing, all of them fat and contented looking. The present encampments, using a modicum of modern instruments, leave little or no trace of their stay when they move on.

⁸⁴ Bulletin 91, p. 20; JPOS XVIII, 1938, pp. 297-298.

⁸⁵ April 25, 1945.

⁸⁶ AJA XXXVIII, p. 382, and Pl. XXXIX, fig. 2; OSJ, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁷ American Anthropologist, Vol. 35: 1, p. 52; Annual XIV, p. 73.

The prehistoric encampments at or near the same places left behind them the tools they fashioned on the spot and kept constantly manufacturing anew as occasion demanded.

el-Muwaqqar (309)

About 37 km. w. n. w. of Qaşr Kharâneh, and 23 km. s. e. of 'Ammân is el-Muwaqqar (309).*8 An Arab Legion post commands the site today, being



Fig. 42. Remains of Omayyad building at el-Muwaqqar (309).
(Phot. Nelson Glucck).

located on top of a rise overlooking the tracks converging upon it from all directions. There were some worked flints on the slopes of this rise. On a hilltop directly across from it to the s., are the rapidly disappearing ruins of the Omayyad site of el-Muwaqqar, ⁸⁹ which apparently replaced a previous Byzantine site ⁹⁰ (Fig. 42). Several modern houses have been built among and partly out of the existing ruins. Below them, in a small valley to the s. e., is a large birkeh, which still holds some water. This site of el-Muwaqqar represents the farthest point e., near which even desultory agriculture is occasionally attempted (Fig. 43).

⁸⁸ May 6, 1944.

89 QDAP XII, pp. 63-74.

90 QDAP XII, p. 70, n. 5.



Fig. 43. Reservoir at el-Muwaqqar (309).

(Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

This site had been examined and planned previously in 1898 and 1901, and need not be described here. ⁹¹ Bruennow and Musil who first visited it would find little left of what they originally saw. The Transjordan Department of Antiquities, however, has recovered an inscribed capital and an inscribed column to which it belonged, originally set up on the bottom of the reservoir to serve as a water gauge and determine the depth of the water. They could be dated from the inscription on the capital to 720-724 A.D. ⁹²

⁶¹ Bruennow, *Die Provincia Arabia*, II, pp. 182-189, Fig. 757-771 and Pl. XLIX; Musil, *Kuseir 'Amra*, I, pp. 27-37, Fig. 20-30, and p. 102, Fig. 87, 88.

⁹² Cf. below, p. 230; Mayer, Note on the Inscription from al-Muwaqqar, QDAP XII: 3-4, pp. 73-74, and Pl. XXIII; Hamilton, An Eighth Century Water-Gauge, Al Muwaqqar, QDAP XII: 3-4, pp. 70-72.

II. SOUTHERN AREA

a. JERASH AND MEDWÂR REGIONS

To the e. of the Wâdī Jerash, which cuts its way southward to meet the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq), are many ancient sites. The broken hill-country which shelves down to the Wâdī Zerqā and levels off eastward to merge with the table-land of the desert, was intensively occupied in accordance with an agricultural economy from earliest historical times onwards. The story of permanent sedentary settlement in this area forms one of the most important chapters of the book of ancient history of North Gilead.

The most prominent point along the Wâdī Jerash is Jerash, the Gerasa of the Decapolis.93 Situated in a fertile area, containing many strong and perennial springs, at the junction of crossroads, it was long a surprise not that Gerasa grew to its great proportions in the Roman period, but that apparently it had been established on virgin soil, and its foundations had disturbed no ancient remains. Despite numerous seasons of excavations at Gerasa by the joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and Yale University, no traces of settlement were found which could possibly be dated to the pre-Hellenistic period. Kraeling points out that "the earliest piece of strictly contemporary evidence for the city's history is still an inscribed lead weight of the year 10/11 A. D." 94 He correctly assumed, however, that "the site was occupied at an early date. . . . "95 Discoveries by the archaeological survey expedition of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, were to give basis in fact to this assumption, while at the same time pointing out why the earliest settlement was not found within the limits of Gerasa proper, and indeed why it could not be found there.96

Bronze Age Jerash (275)

On June 21, 1939, the writer, accompanied by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, then Chief of Research of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, and Mr. Reginald Head, then of the Transjordan Department of Lands and Forests, examined the top of the east outer wall of Roman Gerasa (275). We did so, in order to examine how the soil which had been washed down by the rains throughout the centuries from the slopes of

vs Kraeling, Gerasa, The City of the Decapolis.

⁹⁴ Kraeling, p. 27. 95 Kraeling, p. 27.

⁰⁶ Bulletin 75, pp. 22-26.

the hill east of the wall had piled up in many places to the top of the outside of the wall, and in some places even to the top of the inner side. The terraces which had anciently safeguarded the hillsides around Jerash from erosion had been largely neglected from the end of the Byzantine period onward. On those hillsides, where through chance or design some of the terraces are more or less intact, the soil has been correspondingly saved.

We found some fragments of ancient pottery on top of the n.e. corner of the Gerasa wall, which had been washed down together with the soil from the hillside above. They were mainly Roman and Byzantine sherds, plus some later ones, but among them was one clear MB I fragment. That sherd led us to look for others on the slope above, and brought us, following the trail of other Bronge Age sherds, to a flat-topped hill about 80 meters e.n.e. of the n.e. corner of the Gerasa city-wall. Further examination showed that it was an important BA fortress, the discovery of which has now filled a large part of the blank of our previous knowledge of the early history of Gerasa and its environs.

As we ascended the slopes of this hill, once capped by a fortress, we saw that they had been anciently terraced. They have served, undoubtedly with many repairs, to help hold the soil in place from the time of the first historical settlement there to our own day, despite past and present ploughing. The gaunt bareness of some neighboring hillsides stands in stony contrast to the ploughed slopes of this hill.

The flattish, elongated, wholly ploughed top of this hill is oriented approximately n.-s. It was once completely surrounded by a strong, outer fortification wall, clear traces of which can be established for much of its circumference. The walled area is about 180 meters long. It measures about 78 meters at its widest point near its north end, narrowing down to about 50 meters near its south end (see sketch-map, Bulletin~75, p. 24). The e. side of the hilltop is marked by a modern boundary wall. It serves on that side as a wall for a vineyard planted on the e. slope of the hill. It is the most gradual of the slopes, and leads down to a small, shallow $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$, which, too, is planted to grapevines. Beyond this depression, there rises to the e. another hill, on the top of which are vats anciently cut out of the rock. It is likely that in them grapes were pressed, and that viticulture has long been carried on in this area.

It was a common, although not an unvarying practice during the Bronze Age, especially during the Early Bronze Age, to fortify great hilltops with massive walls, and cultivate the slopes and valleys below them, as well as much of the enclosed hilltop itself. The presence of a spring immediately at hand or in the vicinity, together with fertile soil, and a defensible hilltop were the most important criteria for the establishing of an agricultural community in

this period. Agriculture coupled with animal husbandry were the predominant pursuits of the inhabitants. Their pottery alone points to the advanced stage of their civilized attainments. Only excavations can determine the number of houses built in the wall-enclosed area. It would seem, however, that, aside from protective towers, comparatively few were constructed there, most of the population dwelling in houses and particularly in tents outside of the walls.

Following thus the pattern of their contemporaries, the early Bronze Age settlers of Jerash fortified the flattish hill-top overlooking the strong, perennial spring, now called 'Ain Qeirawân, which issues forth at the foot of the hill. The builders of Roman Gerasa enclosed it in a fine masonry basin, from which its waters are still drawn by the Circassian and Arab inhabitants of Jerash. Furthermore, both the ancient and modern dwellers of Jerash employ the perennial waters of the Wâdī Jerash, which flow southward through the center of the town to empty ultimately,—to the extent that they have not been used up for irrigation purposes en route—, into the Wâdī Zerqā.

It seems reasonable to believe that all the Jerash region, particularly the rich valley between Jerash and the powerful springs of Birketein ⁹⁷ and 'Ain Shewâhid, ⁹⁸ respectively near and at the north end of that valley, and the surrounding hillsides also, were intensively cultivated during the early Bronze Age. One would have expected to find another early Bronze Age site near Birketein, the strong spring situated about a kilometer and a quarter to the north of the North Gate of Jerash. It served as the setting for a great masonry pool divided in half by a cross wall. There was a colonnade around the pool, and close by it a small theater, known as the Festival Theater. ⁹⁹ Thus far, however, we have failed to discover an early BA site either near Birketein or 'Ain Shewâhid. In the vicinity of Remeimîn, ¹⁰⁰ for instance, not very far from Jerash, on the south side of the Wâdī Zerqā, we had discovered a cluster of early BA sites within a short distance of each other, centering about several powerful springs.

Some of the pottery fragments on the top and slopes of BA Jerash belonged to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. The other sherds indicated that the historical settlement of Jerash may have begun in the Middle Chalcolithic period, flourished during the first half of EB, languished increasingly during the rest of EB, and enjoyed a strong renascence during MB I. After that came an extended break in the history of the occupation of this site, which lasted, to judge from the surface finds of pottery fragments, till the beginning of the Roman period.

p7 Kraeling, Gerasa, pp. 159-167.

os Bulletin 75, p. 27.

DO Kraeling, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 200. 228-229.

This statement with regard to the BA settlement of Jerash differs from the writer's previous one with regard to the BA occupation, insofar as he referred then only to an EB IV-MB I settlement. 101 On November 15, 1946, the writer, together with Professor Arthur Jeffery and other members of the ASOR, Jerusalem, revisited the site of BA Jerash, and collected many more sherds than previously. On the basis of this renewed study, the previous conclusion with regard to the abrupt termination of BA occupation at the end of MBI, followed by a gap in the history of settlement lasting till the Roman period, was confirmed. However, it was seen, as a result of this second visit, that the occupation of BA Jerash went back to the beginning of EB, and that a still earlier settlement may have existed there as far back as the Middle Chalcolithic period. All that could be said of the particular BA sherds found during the first visit, like some found later on, was that they were EB. The writer wrongly assumed that they must have all belonged to EB IV, in accordance with the fact that that was the EB period most strongly attested to by pottery finds south of the Wâdī Zergā. This fact had been further attested to by Albright's finds at Bab ed-Drâ' and Ader, 102 and by Crowfoot's at Balû'ah. 103 It is well, however, to point out now in this connection that some pottery finds s. of the Wâdī Zerqā point to sedentary civilized settlements there going back to EB 104 and to the Chalcolithic period. 105 For a detailed treatment of the sherds found at BA Jerash, cf. Pottery Notes, pages 429-432.

Khirbel el-Kibdeh (274)

We have not yet succeeded in finding an Iron Age site in the immediate vicinity of BA Jerash, although one might have expected to find one there even as one expected to find a BA site. However, we did succeed in discovering one in the Jerash area. It is called Khirbet el-Kibdeh (274),¹⁰⁶ and is about 4.5 kilometers n.-n. n. e. of Jerash. It commands a direct view over the Birketein valley on the n. side of Jerash and over Jerash itself. We have seen above, that the strong spring of Birketein is about a kilometer and a quarter n. of the North Gate of Jerash.¹⁰⁷

Khirbet el-Kibdeh is situated on top of a high, completely isolated hill,

¹⁰¹ Bulletin 75, pp. 23-26.

¹⁰⁹ Bulletin 95, pp. 5-11; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 90, n. 283; PPEB, pp. 78-81. 106; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 265.

¹⁰³ PEFQS, April 1934, pp. 56-63; Annual XIV, p. 54.

¹⁰⁴ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 268.

¹⁰⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 254, Pl. 12: 5.

¹⁰⁶ June 21, 1939; Bulletin 75, pp. 26-28.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. above, p. 59.

with small cultivated valleys at its base. The hill-top is oriented s. e. by n. w., and measures approximately 90 by 38 meters. This acropolis hill was once enclosed within a strong outer fortification wall, parts of which can still be traced. There are the remains of two completely ruined towers, one each, respectively, at the s. e. and n. w. ends. The outline of the foundations of the tower at the s. e. end can still be made out. It is oriented s. e. by n. w., and measures 10 by 6 meters. For about 30 meters n. w. of this tower is an empty space, which is limited by a cross-wall. The tower at the n. w. end is now a heap of fallen stones, and is used as a burial place. Below this n. w. tower, near the edge of the n. w. end of the fairly flat top of the hill is a rock-cut, bell-shaped cistern, whose mouth is about 90 centimeters in diameter. It is now 2 meters deep, but were the debris cleared out which partly clogs it, would be deeper. It is probable that there are other cisterns buried under the heaps of fallen building-blocks which litter almost the entire surface of this acropolis site. Some of these heaps of building stones represent the ruins of houses inside the acropolis wall. At the s.e. end of the top of the hill is a large cup-hole, 50 centimeters in diameter and about 50 centimeters deep.

The entire acropolis plan of Khirbet el-Kibdeh, with its enclosing wall, and tower at either end, and empty space stretching from the one wall to a cross-wall some distance from it, reminds one very much of a number of Iron Age sites we have examined previously in Transjordan, such as el-Wādât, 108 Khirbet el-Akûzeh, 109 Khirbet el-Medeiyineh 110 overlooking the Wâdī Môjib, and Khirbet 'Ayûn Mûsã. 111

All the sherds gathered along the tops and slopes of the acropolis hill of Khirbet el-Kibdeh belong solely to Iron Age I-II, with the main body of sherds dating from the eleventh to the eighth centuries B. C. Some of the sherds date back to the beginning of Iron Age I, and others extend down to the end of Iron Age II. In other words, the history of the occupation of this site corresponds to the history of the Iron Age I-II sites s. of the Wâdī Zerqā. From the eighth to the sixth centuries B. C., there seems to have been a period of increasing decline culminating in final ruin.¹¹²

The slopes of this acropolis-hill of Khirbet el-Kibdeh had obviously been carefully terraced in course of the Iron Age. As a result, the process of erosion, which has ravaged the hillsides in the vicinity, has been largely prevented on this hill. Its entire slopes are still cultivated, wherever the ancient terraces have been preserved and the soil retained. The hillsides particularly to the n. e. of this hill, which of old were probably well wooded, are now badly

¹⁰⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 43. 44. 62.

¹⁰⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 61-62.

¹¹⁰ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 52-53.

¹¹¹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 110-111.

¹¹⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 269.

eroded. A scanty growth of scrub oak sprouts from some of their sides, but the omnivorous goats do not give the young trees a chance long to survive. Between the goats and their masters, the trees and shrubs which could hold the soil in place are consumed or cut down, with the resulting washing away of the good earth, much of it terra rossa, in the rainy seasons, and blowing away during the dry. The fellahîn of this district fail for the most part to repair old terrace walls or build new ones.

It is clear from the BA and Iron Age settlements at Jerash and Kh. el-Kibdeh, that in these periods agriculture was carried on in an intelligently intensive fashion. The yield of the fields was supplemented by flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle, just as at the present. All the lumber necessary for building purposes and for fuel was available in adjacent forests. From the dolmen period 113 on, throughout the high plateau lands of Transjordan, the main building material for the walls of houses was stone. In treeless regions, it became in all periods the sole construction material. 114 Brick construction was probably known and from early times on employed to a limited extent for specific purposes, but was limited practically to such lowland areas as the Jordan Valley and the north shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah, where stone was not easily available.

It is of little profit to debate whether or not Khirbet el-Kibdeh took the place of a possible Iron Age I-II Jerash site. Such a site may yet be discovered, as close to Roman Gerasa as the above-mentioned BA site. Both BA Jerash and Iron Age Khirbet el-Kibdeh were partly dependent upon the same fields, particularly the rich valley extending between 'Ain Shewâhid and Birketein and Jerash. The fine spring of 'Ain Shewâhid is situated about 2 km. to the s.w.-w.s.w. of Khirbet el-Kibdeh, below the series of rises of which the hill of Kh. el-Kibdeh represents the highest point. This spring is about a kilometer n.w.-n.n.w. of Birketein, being situated at the n. end of the rich valley in which Birketein is located.

Nowhere in the entire Jerash region were sites found whose history of occupation could bridge the gap between the end of MBI and the beginning of Iron Age I. MBII and LB, so far as surface finds are concerned, are wholly absent. Here again, we seem to be confronted with the pronounced decline in the history of sedentary, urban, agricultural civilization that generally characterized all the rest of Transjordan to the s. of it. This statement is somewhat qualified by the discovery of several MBIIA sites along the

¹¹⁸ The River Jordan, pp. 130-136; Bulletin 91, pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁴ Bulletin 96, pp. 8-11.

¹¹⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 268; Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77a; FSAC, p. 31.

n. and s. sides of the Wadī Zerga, 116 and isolated MB deposits in 'Amman, Na'ûr,117 and several other places.118 These are isolated examples. By their very paucity, they testify to the dangers that beset and restricted sedentary agricultural civilization in the areas mentioned, and make understandable the general absence of artificial city-hills, the tulûl, which abound in Palestine, and are found to some extent in northern Transjordan. 110 The break in building which ensued mainly after MBI, or in some instances after MBIIA, and lasted until the beginning of Iron Age I, that is from the end of the 20th, or, respectively, from the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the 13th century B. C., may have been caused by the Hyksos irruptions, and been extended due to the ensuing lack of public security. 120 This decline extended apparently throughout all of Transjordan south of the rich northern plains, which are marked at their southern end by the great sites of Irbid and el-Husn.121 Furthermore, this reduction of sedentary sites is in conformity with the significant silence of the Amarna tablets and the Egyptian lists of towns concerning the area and the period in question. 122 This widespread retreat of sedentary settlement does not occur in anything like the same degree in northern Transjordan and the Jordan Valley,123 although we shall see that the history of settlement there would also have to be represented by a ragged line. During this period of the Dark Ages in the history of central and southern Transjordan, the real masters of the land were the tented Bedouins. 124

It has been possible to establish the presence of various breaks in the history of sedentary civilization in Transjordan. We shall see that there seems to be a decline, if not a break, in the last half of EB in northern Transjordan, and that there was another gap in the history of ancient Transjordan from the end of Iron Age II to the Hellenistic period of which there are numerous traces, although the next main period is the Roman.¹²⁵

The approximately 500 year or more period of decline in the history of permanent sedentary civilization in central and southern Transjordan extending from MBI, or in some few places more particularly from MBIIA to the

¹¹⁶ Bulletin 75, p. 28; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 266.

¹¹⁷ Bulletin 75, p. 28; 68, p. 21, n. 21.

¹¹⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 82.

¹¹⁰ Bulletin 68, p. 21; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 269.

¹²⁰ ANNUAL XIV, p. 81; XV, p. 138; Bulletin 75, p. 26; 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77a; de Vaux, ZAW 15, 1938, pp. 228-236.

¹²¹ Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21.

¹²² ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 265.

¹²³ Bulletin 90, p. 17, n. 77a.

¹²⁴ Bulletin 74, p. 4.

¹²⁵ ANNUAL XVII-XIX, p. 269.

beginning of the Iron Age, finds a remarkable parallel in the comparatively modern history of Transjordan. There is a break, lasting, at a minimum reckoning, for approximately 600 years, namely from the end of the mediaeval Arabic period to about the beginning of the 20th century A. D. This is strikingly true of Jerash itself. It was abandoned after the mediaeval Arabic period, and remained unoccupied until about 60 years ago, when Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, settled an energetic Circassian Mohammedan community in Jerash, and established other communities like it at various fertile centers in Transjordan, such as 'Ammân and Wâdī Sîr. By 1122 A.D., William of Tyre speaks of Jerash as having long been uninhabited. At this time, as Kraeling recalls, 126 a garrison of 40 men was temporarily established there by the Atabeg of Damascus. His garrison contrived to transform the Temple of Artemis into a fortress. However, a visitor to the site described the city to Yaqût in the next century as being a field of ruins, aside from a few watermills, and as being wholly uninhabited.127 The history of 'Amman is much the same as that of Jerash, and the same story could be repeated for all the cities of the Decapolis.

The decay and disappearance, for all practical purposes, of agricultural civilization centered about permanent towns and villages throughout most of Transjordan for so many centuries in our modern era, are certainly not due to any climatic changes, any more than the parallel gap during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages can be explained away on that score. In both instances, the explanation must be sought largely in human factors, although our knowledge of the variables conditioning the earlier period is exceedingly meager. From the 12th to the 19th century A. D., in particular, there was only a very small number of permanent, sedentary settlements in Transjordan. The Bedouins roamed the land, unhindered and unfettered. In sharp contrast to this state of affairs, extensive, permanent, sedentary occupation continued to exist and develop in Western Palestine. There was a continuity of civilized life there. based on commercial and religious and strategic factors, which did not manifest themselves sufficiently in Transjordan to maintain civilization there. Had Transjordan during this period possessed the accessible sacred sites and religious attractions, coupled with streams of pilgrims and trade and imperial interests that Palestine enjoyed, its history would undoubtedly have been completely different from what it was. It would not have presented the anomalous picture of a country, rich in minerals and forests, possessed of large areas of fertile ground in which water for extensive agriculture was

¹²⁶ Kraeling, Gerasa, p. 69.

¹²⁷ Bulletin 75, p. 29; Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, I, 1844, p. 535; II, p. 61;
Steuernagel, Der 'Adschlun, ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 270.

available, practically abandoned for 7 centuries by farmers and craftsmen and tradesmen, and empty of the arts and accomplishments of civilization, and employed at best as pasture-lands by nomads. It is only since the close of the 1914-1918 war, that, under the generally excellent rule of the British mandatory government, which established and maintained public security, Transjordan is fulfilling in part the promise which her resources and past hold for her. The beneficent regime of King Abdullah I is continuing the excellent development initiated by enlightened British policy.

Khirbet el-Misbetah (273)

Less than a kilometer s.-s. s. w. of Khirbet el-Kibdeh, on the same range of hills which mount in a series of rises to the eminence on which Kh. el-Kibdeh is located, is Kh. el-Misbetah (273), called Misibtā by Steuernagel. 129 It is situated on a bench of land overlooking 'Ain Shewahid and the valley which stretches from this spring to Birketein and Jerash. It is an almost completely destroyed site, marked by caves, the remains of rock-cut cisterns, a small reservoir or birkeh, and the much destroyed ruins of several nondescript buildings, whose foundations are in some places flush with the ground. The sherds belong mainly to the mediaeval Arabic period, although some Roman and Byzantine sherds were also found. There was nothing which could be dated to a pre-Roman period, whether sherds or hewn stones. There is no possibility, therefore, of identifying this place with the biblical Mispeh of Gilead as Schumacher suggests, 130 however excellent a view it commands. If any site in the immediate neighborhood were to be identified with Mispeh of Gilead, it would have to be Kh. el-Kibdeh rather than Kh. el-Misbetah. 131 In one of the caves at Kh. el-Misbetah, Steuernagel found a stone with a Byzantine cross cut into it.132 Around Misbetah, between cultivated areas, is a growth of scrub oak and pine.

Khirbet Shewâhid (272)

About 1.5 km. w.-w. s. w. of Kh. el-Mişbetah, near the bottom of the rise on which it is located, is Khirbet Shewâhid (272). ¹⁸³ It is situated immediately above the fine, strong spring of 'Ain Shewâhid, which obviously in Roman times was enclosed within a masonry basin, and was not half choked with debris as it is today. At the s. e. end of the site are the ruins of a large,

¹²⁸ OSJ, pp. 149-150.

¹²⁹ ZDPV 48, 1925, pp. A. 155-156.

¹³⁰ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 156.

¹⁸¹ Bulletin 75, p. 30; 92, p. 14.

¹³² ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 272, Fig. 51.

¹³³ Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, 1925, pp. A. 262-264.

rock-cut tomb. There are numerous remains of large Roman and Byzantine buildings, and of strongly built stone conduits which led the water of the spring into the fields of the rich valley, which extends from this point to Jerash. The Roman and Byzantine conduits have been replaced today by rude dirt channels, which carry water to a much smaller area of irrigated fields than in Roman and Byzantine times. The sherds on the site are predominantly Roman and Byzantine, with some mediaeval Arabic sherds among them. A Byzantine capital is visible among the ruins.

'Asfûr (276)

About 1.25 km. n. w.-w. n. w. of Kh. el-Kibdeh, and some 5 km. n.-n. n. e. of Jerash is 'Asfûr (276),¹²⁴ situated on a small knoll. Below it, about 1.75 km. away to the s.-s. s. w. is Kh. Shewâhid (272). 'Asfûr is a very small, completely ruined, ploughed over Roman-Byzantine site. Several cave-cisterns, traces of steps cut into a rocky slope which once evidently led to a now collapsed cave-cistern, and a small quantity of Roman-Byzantine sherds are all that remain of the site.

Rujm el-Kerem (277)

Continuing uphill; along a clearly marked Roman road, still well banked apparently from Roman times, and along which are visible pieces of Roman milestones, is Rujm el-Kerem (277), situated on a small hillock, less than half a km. n. e. of 'Aşfûr. The top and sides of the hillock were completely ploughed over, with only a few broken building stones and some Roman-Byzantine sherds remaining. It is obvious that in the Roman and Byzantine periods, the slopes rising above 'Ain Shewâhid were much more intensively cultivated than they are today, or indeed could be in view of the very serious erosion which has taken place since then. It seems also that in those periods, there were houses or clusters of houses along these slopes, which their owners cultivated intensively, wherever stands of trees did not impede them. Most of the trees in this part of the hilly country of the Jerash region have been cut down now, with the consequent disappearance of some of the soil they once helped hold in place. However, in spite of all the ravages of time and men, the hill-country of Transjordan is still rich in potentialities for settlement.

Rujm el-Kôm (278)

Less than a km. n. n. e. of 'Aşfûr is Rujm el-Kôm, on top of a high hill (278). It is about 5.5 km. n. of Jerash. Below it to the w.-w. s. w. is 'Ain 'Asîn. At the bottom of the hill, on the n. side, bends the Wâdī Warrân, on

¹³⁴ Aug. 9, 1939.

¹⁸⁵ Aug. 8, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 18.

the e. side of the Wâdī Sleim, and on the w. side the Wâdī Sûf. At the e. n. e. end of the comparatively flat top of the high hill on which it is located, is a small number of ruined house-foundations. The modern village of Sûf is visible from it to the w. s. w., some 6 km. away. It is difficult to attempt to give a date to these much destroyed ruins, because they might belong to any one of several periods represented by sherds on the site. Below the w. end of these foundation-ruins is a pear-shaped cistern, whose mouth is 80 cm. in diameter, extending down for another meter before the cistern begins to broaden out. Near the s. end of the site, several large cup-holes can be seen.

The slopes of the upper stretches of this hill were carefully terraced in ancient times, making it possible once to cultivate them intensively. This is no longer possible now, with the terrace-walls broken down and much of the cultivable earth washed away. The approximate measurement of the hilltop, which is oriented from e. to w., is about 200 by 55 m. There may well once have been an outer wall enclosing the site in the earliest periods of its history, but all surface traces have disappeared now. The only materials making fairly definite dating possible are furnished by the sherds found on the top and slopes of this site. The BA sherds seem to parallel the history of those of Jerash, coming to a definite close at the end of MBI, and otherwise belonging to the first part of EB. There is a definite break following MBI, which continues until the end of LB. There were numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, and smaller quantities belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. Part of a flint blade was found, which probably belongs with the EB sherds.¹³⁶

el-Beheirah (286)

About 1.5 km. n. n. e. of Rujm el-Kôm, and somewhat below it, is el-Beḥeirah (286). 137 It is on top of a high, completely isolated hill, which was anciently terraced. Rujm el-Kôm is clearly visible from it. The flattish top of the hill is oriented approximately e.-w., and measures about 175 by 55 m. In this area are the ruins of some large stone buildings, of which little more than foundation walls remain. One of these buildings, with walls a meter thick, measures 15 m. square. We found 5 large cisterns on the top and slopes of the hill, and there are probably others buried under the debris. There is a large cistern in an enclosed courtyard, in front of one of the main ruined buildings. The occupational history of the site, to judge from the sherds found, was the same as that of Rujm el-Kôm (278). The foundation plan of the main ruined

¹⁸⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, Pl. 16: 7-9.

¹³⁷ Aug. 9, 1939; Bulletin 86, pp. 18-19.

building resembles that of an Iron Age structure at Kh. Morbat Bedrân. ¹³⁸ Without excavations, however, it is impossible to determine definitely to what period it belongs.

Khirbet Mergab 'Azn (279)

About a km. n. w. of Rujm el-Kôm is Kh. Merqab 'Azn (279), ¹³⁹ located on top of a high hill. At the present time, there are visible the ruins of only a single building. It is oriented e.-w., has walls 1.20 m. thick, and measures 7 by 11 m. The walls are made of smallish limestone blocks. The building may be comparatively modern. The history of the site can, however, be determined from the sherds found there, and the story they relate is the same as that of el-Beheirah (286), Rujm el-Kôm (278), and BA Jerash. The hillsides round about this site are given over to viticulture, which in its origins in this area may be of ancient vintage indeed.

el-Medîneh (294)

Some very fragmentary ruins on a small hillock, which is immediately n. and somewhat below \$\hat{S}\hat{u}\$, is called el-Medîneh (294).\hat{140} It is about 5 km. w. s. w. of Tell Merqab 'Azn. The entire region is completely given over to viticulture, and is famous for the quality of its grapes. They may well have been cultivated in this region from early antiquity on. The sherds were mainly Roman and Byzantine, together with a few mediaeval Arabic ones. There were also several older, very worn sherds which may possibly have belonged to Iron I-II.

Khirbet Rabû' el-Jermîsh (283)

Less than a km. s.-s. s. e. of Jerash is Kh. Rabû el-Jermîsh (283).¹⁴¹ It is a small, completely ruined site on top of a ploughed-over hill, on the e. side of the Wâdī Jerash. Sherds of the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods were found. It is part of that area, thickly inhabited and intensively farmed during these periods, which was connected with the economy of Jerash.

Mesar Tôkh (284)

Somewhat more than a km. s. of Jerash, and about half a km. s. s. w. of Kh. Rabû' el-Jermîsh, on a hilltop overlooking the Wâdī Jerash from the e., is a Roman-Byzantine settlement called Mesar Ţôkh (284). The Wâdī Jerash

¹³⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 189.

¹³⁹ Bulletin 86, p. 19.

¹⁴⁰ August 14, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 19.

¹⁴¹ June 17, 1939; Bulletin 86, pp. 14. 16.

descends in a southerly direction to meet the Wâdī Zerqā. There were numerous Roman, Byzantine, and a few mediaeval Arabic sherds on this site. The upper part of the hill is bare of all soil. The rainwater flowing down the gently sloping sides of the hill was caught in numerous cisterns and small reservoirs. Several of these shallow, rock-cut reservoirs measure about 10 by 15 m., and are from 1. to 1.5 m. deep. From these reservoirs, rock-cut channels led water e. and n. e. to a little valley e. of this hill to help irrigate it. There is also a long, rock-cut channel along the w. side of the hill, which originally tapped the Wâdī Jerash at some point farther n., and then led it southward below the hill to irrigate the fields on the e. side of the Wadī Jerash (cf. Bulletin 86, p. 19, Phot. 1330, Fig. 3). I was told that a similar rock-cut channel exists along the w. side of the Wâdī Jerash. Several large cup-holes are visible. One wonders whether they were used in connection with the crushing of olives or grapes. At the very top of the hill are the ruins of several small buildings, and the remains of a large cistern, with stone steps leading down into it. This place, together with a number of similar ones along or near the sides of the Wadī Jerash, may be considered as belonging to the outskirts of Jerash, dependent upon it, and engaged in supplying some of its needs.

Khirbet Abū Harâsī (285)

Such a place also is Kh. Abū Ḥarâsī (285),¹⁴² about a third of a kilometer s. s. w. of Mesar Ṭôkh. It too is situated on a hillock overlooking the Wâdī Jerash from the e. Numerous Roman and Byzantine and a few mediaeval Arabic sherds were found on the surface. The remains of a columbarium are visible (cf. Bulletin 86, p. 19, Phot. 1334, Fig. 3), and also a large, rock-cut, rectangular burial shaft.¹⁴³

Khirbet 'Ain Riyâshī (271)

About 4.5 km. s. e. of Jerash is Kh. 'Ain Riyâshī (271).¹⁴⁴ It is somewhat less than 2 km. e. n. e. of Nebī Hûd. 'Ain Riyâshī (280),¹⁴⁵ is a fairly strong spring, irrigating a small, level, cultivated area surrounded by hills. Immediately above it to the w.n. w. is the almost completely destroyed site of Kh. 'Ain Riyâshī. Numerous large building-stones are lying about. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found there, in addition to a few mediaeval Arabic ones. It is situated near the top of a slope, at the edge of a fairly flat stretch

¹⁴² Bulletin 86, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 232.

¹⁴⁴ June 18, 1943; Bulletin 86, p. 16; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 360.

¹⁴⁵ This number, 280, will not appear on the map.

of fields. It overlooks the small Wâdī Riyâshī, 146 by the side of which the 'Ain Riyâshī rises.

BA Khirbet 'Ain Riyâshî (270)

On the s. e. side of 'Ain Riyashī is a large, low, flat-topped, terraced hill, with two small rujûm on it, which may be foundation ruins of towers. This site (270) is likewise called Kh. 'Ain Riyâshī.147 Nebī Hûd is clearly visible on top of its high hill, about 2 km. to the w. The slopes and top of this hill are completely cultivated, making it difficult to find pottery fragments, which, however, careful search revealed. Particularly on the slopes leading down to the spring were found numerous, but much worn sherds, which clearly belong to EB. With the exception of some Roman and Byzantine sherds, no pottery fragments were found which could be dated later than EB. No MBI sherds were found, although in view of finds at neighboring and related sites, it might have been expected that they would have been. Perhaps further investigation may yet reveal their presence. It was difficult to distinguish much more about most of the EB sherds than that they were EB. There was one fairly small, semi-elliptical ledge-handle, with traces of reddish-brown paint on it, which may be assigned to EB I-II. The clearest of the "hole-mouth" and flaring rims seemed to belong to the first rather than to the last half of EB.

Rujm el-Qarânī (281)

Less than 3 km. to the e.-e. n. e. of Kh. 'Ain Riyâshī (270) is Rujm el-Qarânī (281), located on top of the highest point of the ridge overlooking it. The foundation remains of what appears originally to have been a tower or block-house are visible there, of a type of construction with large blocks of stone, rough hewn, which might be assigned to the Iron I-II period. However, nothing short of excavations could possibly definitely determine whether or not this assumption is correct. The structure would seem not to have been later than the Iron period. A small quantity of Iron I-II sherds was found, in addition to a small number of Roman-Byzantine sherds. The slopes of the hill were originally strongly terraced from top to bottom. The terraces have, however, been in a state of disrepair for so long, that much of the cultivable soil has been washed away. The e. and s. e. slopes below the rujm are the least steep. There is a small cultivated divide between the hill of Rujm el-Qarânī and the hill to the e. of it. Below the s. w. side of the rujm is a large, now ruined cave-cistern.

¹⁴⁶ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 360.

¹⁴⁷ June 19, 1943.

Tell Huweishân (282)

About 5.5 km, e. n. e.-n. e. of Jerash, on an isolated high hill, is Tell Huweishân (282).148 It is about 1.25 km. n.e. of the small, abandoned, modern village of Khatlah, which it overlooks. Less than half a km. to the n. e. of Khatlah is a spring. Several broken Roman milestones and quantities of Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds were found at Khatlah. The top of the high, completely isolated hill of Tell Huweishan was originally surrounded by a strong wall. Some parts of its foundations can still be seen, where they are not hidden by piles of modern debris. Inside the originally enclosed area of the hilltop is a small number of modern houses, and masses of modern debris of all kinds, making it extremely difficult to find ancient sherds. Careful search, however, revealed a considerable number of very worn EB sherds, aside from some Roman and Byzantine sherds. No definite MBI sherds were found, although to judge from the history of other sites in this Jerash region, it seems likely that further investigation might reveal their presence. In this regard, Tell Huweishân is like BA Kh. 'Ain Riyâshī (270). 149 Among the sherds which belong to the first part of EB is a large fragment of a smooth, semi-elliptical ledge-handle, a fragment of a loop-handle with a flattish-oval section, and a somewhat flaring, collared rim. With regard to the other sherds, such as flat bases, for instance, little more can be said than that they are EB. A part of a double-edged flint blade was found, which probably belongs together with the EB sherds. 150

Umm Beteimeh (302)

Less than a km. to the e.n.e. of Tell Huweishân (282) is Umm Beteimeh (302).¹⁵¹ It is situated on the gentle slope of a hillside, which leads down gradually to a small valley in which the tiny modern village of Umm Beteimeh is located close by the springs of that name. The springs are about a km. n.n.e. of the modern village of Khatlah. On the hillsides round about are visible the remains of numerous dolmens. There are some completely feature-less ruins on this ancient site. The history of the occupation of the site, short of actual excavations, could not be determined except by surface pottery finds. The latest of these extend from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic periods. The only other sherds go back to the Chalcolithic period, and extend perhaps to EBI. Of particular interest were two axe-blade shaped ledge-handles, possibly Chalcolithic, which will be dealt with in the detailed discussion of the earliest pottery from this place. The extant ruins are to be associated with the Roman to Arabic periods and sherds, and probably more

¹⁴⁸ Bulletin 86, p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. above, p. 70.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. above, p. 67, n. 1.

¹⁵¹ April 26, 1944; Bulletin 104, p. 14.

with the Arabic than with the Roman. Excavations might possibly reveal the presence of Chalcolithic foundations beneath the surface of the ground, but that is doubtful. Ploughing throughout the millennia has so churned up the ground, that very little indeed may be left of the original Chalcolithic structures. The possibility, however, remains that earth carried down from the higher slopes above may have brought a preserving covering over the earliest foundations erected on the site in the Chalcolithic period.

Sahrī (303)

Less than 2 km. to the e. s. e. of Umm Beteimeh (302) is the very large site of Sahrī (303).152 It is about 7 km, e.n.e. of Jerash, and about 2.25 km. w. n. w. of the modern village of Medwar. It is situated above the spring of 'Ain Sahrī, being located on a long, gradual slope, which rises by broad and low terraces from e. to w., mounting finally to the hilltop well over 2 km. to the w. of it. There is nothing about the site which from the surface itself would mark it as an antiquity site to the casual observer. There is no tell to mark the presence of a former settlement or settlements. Indeed, there is no visible, artificial rise in the ground at all to give the slightest indication of the presence in ancient days of houses in which humans of civilized attainments lived. No building remains whatsoever are visible, except the foundations of some stone walls, whose date one would be hard put to determine. The site now represents the almost completely ploughed-over and cultivated area of a gently sloping stretch of fertile land, which is almost 2 km, long and about half a km. wide. Were it not for the presence of the spring, and the knowledge, born of long experience, that an ancient site, or at least pottery fragments from an ancient site, can be found in Transjordan and elsewhere in the Near East wherever there is a spring or another source of water, we would never have looked for antiquity remains in this particular place. Protracted search revealed that datable pottery fragments were strewn all over the site. They were much broken by the cultivation of the ground throughout many hundreds of years, but among them were found many distinctive fragments, in addition to pieces of basalt querns, bowls, and millstones,

The actual ancient village or successive villages may have been located near the ruins of the still standing walls. Indeed, most of the sherds were collected near these walls. The pottery fragments included Roman and Byzantine and numerous Middle Chalcolithic pieces. The latter were most closely related to types found for instance at Teleilât Ghassûl, with raised, indented, or scalloped bands of decoration being particularly common. Among them was an axe-blade shaped, dull-edged ledge-handle, like the two found at Umm Beteimeh. They

¹⁵² Bulletin 104, p. 13.

represent a unique, and hitherto, apparently, unknown type of ledge-handle, which I am inclined to assign to the Chalcolithic period, for reasons which will be detailed below. Several other Chalcolithic sites were found in this area e. and s. e. of Jerash.

Zakhîreh (306)

About 8.75 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Sahrī (303), in this broken hill-country whose wâdis plunge down more or less southward towards the Wâdī Zergā, is another of these Chalcolithic sites, called Zakhîreh (306). 153 It is about 15.5 km. e. s. e. of Jerash, and about 6.5 km, s. e. of Medwar. It is located on a large, high, isolated hill towering above the s. side of the Wadī el-'Ain, in which the fine spring of el-'Ain rises. At the n. side of the wadi is Tell el-'Ain (305).154 Semi-circular, anciently terraced benches of land lead up to near the very top of the hill of Zakhîreh. The terrace walls, some of which obviously go back to early antiquity, still hold the earth of the hillside in place wherever they are more or less intact, and make possible the cultivation of the benches of land to this very day. Scattered along the hillside are great blocks of stone, which once formed parts of dolmens, and foundation-ruins of what were once great, more or less circular dolmen bases, 155 Near the top of the hill is a broad, terraced bench, on which a small number of worn but indubitably Chalcolithic sherds was found, together with some contemporary flints. No building-remains whatsoever were found.

Tell el-Meghānîyeh (261)

About 7 km. s. w. of Zakhîreh is Tell el-Meghānîyeh (261), ¹⁵⁶ situated on the rounded top and upper slopes of a great, ploughed-over hill, below whose s. e. side the Wâdī Khreisân passes on its steep descent to the Wâdī Zerqā. Below this hill, in the Wâdī Khreisân, is the strong spring 'Ain Khreisân. From the top of this site, a bend of the Wâdī Zerqā is visible. A ridge of hills separates this site from the Wâdī el-Qenîyeh to the n. w. of it. The hillsides immediately e. and s. e. of Tell el-Meghānîyeh are dotted with dolmens, and there are reported to be many other dolmens on the other hillsides in the vicinity. Dolmen-remains exist also on the hill of Tell el-Meghānîyeh, as well as stone circles and foundations of massive walls, some of which may possibly have been parts of massive houses of the dolmen period. ¹⁵⁷ The word tell in the name of the site is a misnomer, there being no tell-formation whatsoever on the hilltop. The sherds found after a prolonged search belong to the Chalco-

¹⁵³ Bulletin 104, p. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. below, p. 84.

¹⁵⁵ Bulletin 91, pp. 19. 20. 25.

¹⁸⁶ June 18, 1943; Bulletin 104, p. 14.

¹⁵⁷ Bulletin 91, p. 19.

lithic period, with the possibility that several of them may belong to EB I. Included among the Chalcolithic sherds, is another of the axe-blade shaped ledge-handles, which seem to be fairly common in this region. This one has a small, raised indented band across the top of it. The pottery from these various Chalcolithic sites is discussed in detail in the pottery section. 158

Not enough of these hill-country Chalcolithic sites have been discovered to generalize with regard to their nature. To judge from those mentioned above to the e. and s. e. of Jerash, hill-tops and cultivable slopes below them leading down to perennial springs were given preference by Chalcolithic inhabitants of the land for places of settlement and husbandry. Wherever there was good soil and an unfailing supply of water, there, already in the Chalcolithic period, agricultural colonies were established. The span of their existence was recorded by the pottery they fashioned, and their story partly preserved by the sherds that survived. We have as yet discovered no evidence that these hilltops were fortified in the Chalcolithic period, or that fortifications were common then. It would seem unlikely that they were absent.

To judge from the number of Chalcolithic settlements found in the comparatively small Jerash area, it would seem obvious that they are not the only ones that existed in the highlands of Transjordan. Indeed, it seems certain that many others existed throughout the length and breadth of its arable reaches. Thus, for instance, at a site considerably to the s. of the above mentioned ones, namely at Kôm Yājûz, about 9 km. n. n. w. of 'Ammân, I had previously found a fragment of a pierced ear-handle, with nicks or indentations along the outer edge, of which I had said, that had I found it alone, I would have had no hesitation in assigning it to the Chalcolithic period. With the exception of exchanging the word "slip" for "wash" in the description of the sherd, I would now definitely assign it to the Middle Chalcolithic period. The probability is that there are other sherds at Kôm Yājûz, which also belong to that period. It seems likely, in this connection, that several sherds with raised scallcped bands from Khirbet Umm Şedeirah, 160 overlooking the Wâdī Ḥesā from the n., may also belong to the Chalcolithic period. 161

The presence of Chalcolithic pottery at a number of sites in the hill-country

¹⁵⁸ The pertinent plates are: Pl. 108 = Umm Beteimeh (302); Pl. 111 = Zakhîreh (306); Pl. 32 = Sahri (303); Pl. 65 = Tell Meghānîyeh (261).

¹⁵⁹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 254, and Pl. 12: 5; Bulletin 104, p. 16, n. 7; cf. MacDonald, Beth-Pelet II, Pl. XXXI. XXXV; Turville-Petre, Researches in Prehistoric Galilee, Pl. XXIX: C. E. F.; Mallon and Koeppel, TG I, p. 90, Fig. 39: 7. 8; Pl. 40: 5; II, Pl. 92: 7.

¹⁶⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 82-84.

¹⁶¹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 260, and Pl. 2: 6. 9.

e. and s. e. of Jerash indicates a contemporaneity of settlement with the lowland settlements of the Chalcolithic period, such as those of Teleilat Ghassûl and the Wâdī Ghazzeh.162 I doubt whether there was any time lag at all between the establishment of Chalcolithic settlements in the hill-country of Transjordan and Palestine and those, for example, which developed in the Jordan Valley or along the Coastal Plain facing the Mediterranean. It would be a very moot point to assert that Chalcolithic settlements were first established in the lowlands, and then sprung up in the highlands, just as it would be exceedingly debatable to maintain the reverse. The requirements for settlement were good land and water. Wherever these existed, settlers were attracted. The fact remains that in Palestine, too, Chalcolithic sites have been found in the highlands and the lowlands, as well as on both sides of the Jordan Valley. Furthermore, it might have been assumed from the discoveries in Palestine, that Chalcolithic pottery would be found not only in the lowlands but also in the highlands of Transjordan.103 That that is the case is now amply demonstrated by the finds of Chalcolithic pottery in the Jerash region.

Either on or near the above-mentioned Chalcolithic sites, there were found the remains of numerous dolmens. Literally thousands of them dot the tops and slopes of the hills of most of the high, $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -cut plateau of western Transjordan. Large numbers of them can be seen on the slopes leading down from this plateau to the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. They are common in the entire Jerash region. These dolmen builders developed an advanced agricultural civilization as early as the 6th millennium B. C. 104 There is reason to believe that these early peasants may have built for themselves megalithic houses of a type structurally related to the dolmens in which they buried

162 Mallon and Koeppel, Teleilät Ghassûl, I, II; MacDonald, Beth-Pelet II.

¹⁶⁸ Wâdi Şâlhah in Galilee (Turville-Petre, Researches in Prehistoric Galilee); Mughâret Abū Uşba' on Mount Carmel (Albright, Bulletin 86, pp. 10-14; 89, p. 25; Stekelis, Bulletin 89, pp. 22-24); lowest pottery level of Mughâret el-Wâd near 'Athlît (Albright, Bulletin 48, p. 11); Gezer (Macalister, Gezer, III, Pl. CXLI: 1-9. 11-13; CXLIII: 1. 2. 19. 20; CXLVII: 26. 27; Bnei Braq (Ory, QDAP XII: 3-4, 1946, pp. 43-57); Beth-shân: — the pits and Level XVIII (FitzGerald, The Museum Journal, XXIV: 1, 1935, pl. 1.2); Khudeirah in the Plain of Sharon (Sukenik, JPOS XVII, 1937, pp. 15-30);; 'Affûleh (SAIA, pp. 1-48); Wâdī Ghazzeh (MacDonald, Beth-Pelet, II); Umm el-Qal'ah and Umm el-Qatafah in caves in Judah (Neuville, Syria, XII, 1931, pp. 24-27); el-'Azeimeh near Teleilät Ghassûl above n. e. end of Dead Sea (Stekelis, Les Monuments Mégalithiques de Palestine; Neuville, Biblica, 11, 1930, pp. 249-265; Mallon, Biblica 14, 1933, pp. 297-302); Jericho VIII (Garstang, AAA, 1935, 1936); Mallon and Koeppel, Teleilat Ghassûl. The above-mentioned Chalcolithic sites indicate, as Wright, PPEB, p. 15, has pointed out: "a rather even distribution throughout Palestine: from Judah to Galilee, from Hudeirah to the Wâdi Ghazzeh, from the Jordan to the maritime plain.") ¹⁶⁴ Cf. below, pp. 76-77; Bulletin 91, p. 20; The River Jordan, p. 30.

their dead.¹⁰⁵ We shall deal later on in more detail with the fascinating phenomenon of these early inhabitants of Transjordan, whose fellows were found at the same time also in Palestine.¹⁰⁶ So far as we now know beyond any question of doubt, the dolmen-builders did not produce any pottery. It would no longer surprise the writer if one day pottery remains of the Neolithic period were discovered in the highlands of Transjordan, thus bridging the gap between the dolmen period and the Chalcolithic period, whose existence is now attested to in the Jerash region.¹⁶⁰⁸

Tell Qafqafā (258)

About 3.5 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of el-Beheirah (286), and about 8.5 km. n. e.-n. n. e. of Jerash is Tell Qafqafā (258), on the n. side of a dip separating it from the small modern village of Qafqafā.167 The village site on top of a ridge seems to have been occupied in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Some rectangular burial shafts could be seen on its sides, which we did not examine. Tell Qafqafa, immediately to the s. of it, across the intervening dip, is on top of a high, completely isolated hill. The top of the hill was once completely surrounded by a wall, some of the foundation remains of which can be still made out. The area it enclosed measures about 62 by 58 m., and is oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e. Nothing is left there of any interpretable architectural significance. A considerable number of Iron Age I-II sherds was collected, as well as several which seemed to belong to MB II. The latter included part of a base and wall of a carinated vessel, covered on the outer surface with a burnished, creamy white slip. There were also several fragments of a thin walled vessel with a highly polished, reddish-brown burnished slip, which may have belonged to a type of MB II carinated vessels, typical, for instance, of Level E at Tell Beit Mirsim. 168 Some Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were also found. We saw no cisterns, but they must be buried on the top and slopes of the hill. There are no springs at the present in the immediate vicinity and there may never have been any. This site is on the watershed in this region, which deflects the water to the n. and s., not taking into account its e. side which descends to the desert. To the s. of this section of the watershed, which looks on the relief map like the protruding head of a dragon turned eastward, the wadis that are formed bend their way southward to the Wâdī Zerqā. On the n. side, below Tell el-Qafqafā, the land falls away abruptly towards the n., merging then into the plains of northernmost Transjordan and southern Syria. The wadis to the n., merge to form the Wadi Warrân,169 which, becomes known then as the Wâdī Shellâleh in its n. con-

¹⁶⁵ Bulletin 91, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Karge, Rephaim, pp. 305-320.

¹⁶⁶a Cf. below, pp. 326.327.

¹⁶⁷ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 351-352.

¹⁶⁸ ANNUAL XIII, Pl. 7: 11-21.

¹⁰⁰ ZDPV 48, p. A. 351.

tinuation and finally empties into the Wâdī Yarmûk. To the n.e.-e. n.e., the great hill of Khanâṣrī (245) stands out as a striking landmark.

Dolmen site of Qafqafā (259)

A little more than a km. to the s.-s. s. w. of Tell Qafqafa (258) on a high, large, flat-topped hill, we found what I think may be untouched tumuli, in which the dolmens were probably originally buried. 170 No such tumulus has ever been excavated in Transjordan or elsewhere in the Near East, and until such excavations are undertaken, the statement with regard to all dolmens being covered by tumuli of earth remains hypothetical so far as Transjordan or the Near East are concerned. The top of this hill was originally enclosed by a great wall. Intensive search, however, failed to reveal a single sherd. We had been attracted originally to this flat-topped hill, because, from the distance, it looked like some of the ancient walled sites such as that of BA Jerash, for instance, where we had previously found pottery remains going back to the EB period. Near the n.e. top of this hill is a low, apparently artificial hump, or barrow or tumulus, about 11 m. in circumference, along the outside of which roughly hewn stones are set in a circle. There are several of these tumuli on this site, and they invite investigation. On the top and sides of this hill are the remains of some broken dolmens. At the s. end of this site is a ruined, circular base, which might well have served as a dolmen base, of the type, found, for example, at Tell el-Metâbi'. 171

Wâdī Abū el-Jeheish (257)

The steep hillsides to the s. and e. and s. e. of Qafqafā are marked with the remains of hundreds of great dolmens, some of them apparently two stories high and others two rooms wide. 172 We followed the small Wâdī Abū el-Jeḥeish for several km. eastward, to a point (257) below Zaharet el-Kôm, which is about 2.25 km. s. e. of Qafqafā. The sides of the deepening $w\hat{a}d\hat{a}$ there were particularly dotted with ruins of great dolmens, some of which were found also on top of the highlands above the $w\hat{a}d\hat{a}$. Parts of the upper sides of Wâdī Abū el-Jeḥeish and of other hillsides in this region show definite remains of massive, ancient terrace walls, some of which may go back to the dolmenperiod, when the entire land was undoubtedly intensively farmed by the dolmen builders.

¹⁷⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 19; cf. below, p. 85.

¹⁷¹ Bulletin 91, p. 19; cf. below, pp. 387-388.

¹⁷² Bulletin 91, p. 19; The River Jordan, pp. 130. 131. 135. 136.

Râs Abū 'Ayâteh (301)

About 5 km. e. s. e. of Tell Qafqafā (258) is Râs Abū 'Ayâṭeh (301).¹⁷³ It is almost in the center of the "dragon-head" part of the watershed, on which Tell Qafqafā is situated. It is the second highest point of this watershed, being 1024 m. high. Jabā, a small modern settlement, which is about 2.5 km. s. s. w. of Tell Qafqafā, is located just below a point which is 1064 m. high. All the hillsides round about Râs Abū 'Ayâṭeh show remains of dolmens. The top of this isolated hilltop seems originally to have been surrounded by a wall, within the circumference of which the ruins of several stone buildings are visible, although it is not possible to determine from them to what period they belong. Numerous rock-cut and cave-cisterns filled with debris are visible on the top and slopes of the site. Among the sherds found were numerous Roman and Byzantine ones, as well as many clear Iron Age I-II sherds. The view from this place is much the same as that from Tell Qafqafā.

Khirbet el-Metwī (300)

About 3 km. to the s. s. e. of Ras Abū 'Avateh (301) is Kh. el-Metwī (300). It is just below the s. side of the section of the watershed on which Ras Abū 'Ayâteh is located, and immediately e. of the spring 'Ain Abū Jâber. In the cultivated valley around the hill on which it is located is a number of springs, which go by the collective name of Bîr el-Metwi. 174 The slopes of the hill are terraced from top to bottom, descending in broad stages, and both the slopes and top and the small valley round about the site are ploughed and cultivated. The sherds on the slopes and top and fields at the base of this site, in addition to some Roman and Byzantine ones, belong for the most part to EB; and large quantities of them were found. Those that could be clearly dated seemed to belong for the most part to EB I-II, with some of them extending down to EB III. None of the sherds typical of EB IV, which had been found in such large numbers at so many sites s. of the Wadī Zerqā, 175 seemed to occur. There were, however, various sherds, such as some of the face-combed and "hole-mouth" ones and bases, which could have belonged to the end of the EB period. Other sherds, however, such as smooth ledge-handles, a pierced ear-handle, and a fragment of "band-slip" 176 ware, must definitely be assigned to the first rather than to the second half of EB. Particularly interesting is it to note that one sherd was found which must be included in the "bandslip" ware group. This type of pottery was present to an almost exclusive degree, as we shall see below, farther n., above an e.-w. line marked roughly

¹⁷³ April 25, 1944.

¹⁷⁴ ZDPV 48, p. A. 372.

¹⁷⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 264.

¹⁷⁶ Bulletin 101, pp. 3-20.

by the sites of Tell el-Ḥuṣn and Irbid.¹⁷⁷ Representative pieces of the EB sherds from Kh. el-Metwī are shown on Pl. 23.24, and discussed in detail in the pottery section.

Tell Dûq Mûsā (299)

About a km, to the s. of Kh. el-Metwī (300) is Tell Dûq Mûsā (299) on top of a high hill, which is almost completely isolated by small, cultivated valleys on all except the n.e. side. Such a valley or dip separates this hill from that of Kh. el-Metwi. From the base of the hill, the land rises in gradual stages until it reaches the well terraced sides of the top of the hill, on which the tell-like crown stands. There are traces of an ancient wall enclosing the top. Several large cave-cisterns are visible there, and at the s.e. end is a modern house lived in by some Arabs. The hill is connected by a saddle of land on its n.e. side to the hills beyond it. The very top of this site is cultivated as well as the slopes of the hill. Large quantities of sherds were picked up. Some of the sherds were Roman and Byzantine, but most of them were Iron Age I-II. I find it difficult to distinguish the Iron Age sherds of North Gilead from the contemporary sherds of Palestine, in the manner that it was possible to determine some peculiar characteristics of Iron Age I-II Edomite, Moabite, and Ammonite pottery.¹⁷⁸ The small village of Umm Rummaneh is visible about 2 km. to the n. w.-w. n. w. of this site. The village of Medwar, for instance, is visible 3 km. to the s.e.

Umm Kharûbeh (298)

Umm Kharûbeh (298) is a flat topped hill, less than a km. to the e.n.e. of Medwâr. Immediately below its s.e. and s. sides bends the Wâdī Ziqraţ, which some distance to the w. turns sharply s. in the direction of the Wâdī Zerqā. On the top and slopes of this hill are the ruins of numerous large dolmens. Three or four of the dolmens on the top of the hill seem to rest on a long, rectangular foundation. Some of the dolmens on the top and slopes of the hill seem to have rested on circular foundations. The remains of massive terraces can still be made out on this hill, which, because of their long state of disrepair is largely eroded. There seems to have been no other occupation on this hill other than that of the dolmen period. It would seem possible, that the dolmen builders constructed the terraces on the slopes of the hill, and farmed the land on the hillsides and in the small, cultivated valleys below it. The entire region from Tell Qafqafā (258) to Medwâr to Jerash is particularly full of dolmen remains (Fig. 44.45).

¹⁷⁷ Bulletin 101, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ ANNUAL XV, p. 139; XVIII-XIX, p. 266.



Fig. 44. Umm Kharûbeh: front view of three-chambered dolmen.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 45. Umm Kharûbeh: triple dolmen, side view. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

er-Rihâb (246)

About 9.25 km. e. n. e. of Umm Kharûbeh (298), and 10 km. e. n. e. of Medwar is er-Rihâb 179 (246), directly above the roadway which passes below it from Mafraq (247 a) to Medwar to Jerash (275). It is 10.5 km. e. s. e. of Tell (Râs) Abū 'Ayâțeh (301), and like it stands on a high point, 915 m., which is marked by a rujm of the cadastral survey. Indeed it marks the apex of a long, high, isolated ridge, which is surrounded by cultivated valleys, and forms a small watershed itself. It is a very extensive site, crowded with ruins of massive buildings extending in part back to the Roman period, but consisting mostly of ruins of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic buildings. Several Greek inscriptions from the Byzantine period have been found there. 180 There are very numerous cisterns on the top and slopes of the site, with a large birkeh below the e. side, still water-tight. Numerous Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there, but nothing earlier. From this point of view alone, it would be impossible to identify this site with the Bethrehôb of II Sam. 10:6 as Steuernagel does, 181 aside from all other considerations. This site commands a splendid view over the surrounding country-side, dominating the descent to the e.n.e. to Mafraq (247 a) and to Medwar to the s. w.-w. s. w.

Eidûn (247)

Eight km. e.s. e. of er-Riḥâb (246) is Eidûn ¹⁸³ (247). It is on a commanding hilltop, 790 m. high, from which there is a particularly fine view over the Mafraq plain and over Mafraq (247 a) itself, which is 5 km. away to the n. e. This hill of Eidûn is part of a range of hills, which extends from the s. to the s. e. of it. There are numerous caves, cave-cisterns and cisterns on the top and slopes of this hill. The hilltop, which measures very roughly about 55 m. in diameter, was once enclosed by a wall, with houses built against its inner face. The site is littered with piles of fallen building stones, and covered with foundation remains. From the commanding position and appearance of the site, it looked from afar as if it might have been an authentic tell, but closer examination revealed that it was a completely natural formation, which because of its strong position had been chosen as the location of several successive settlements or outposts. There were very numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds, but nothing earlier. We looked long to try to find fragments

¹⁷⁹ May 6, 1943; ZDPV 48, pp. A. 354-357.

¹⁸⁰ ZDPV 48, p. A. 355; AJA LII: 1, 1948, p. 279; QDAP XIII, 1947, pp. 68-72.

¹⁸¹ ZDPV 48, p. A. 354.

¹⁸² May 6, 1943.

of pottery preceding the Roman period, but found not a single pre-Roman scrap. The cultivable areas near this site are planted about once every third year (Fig. 46).

Mu'amārîyeh (304)

A little less than 6.5 km. e.s.e. of Medwâr is el-Mu'amārîyeh (304). Turning s. off the main road which leads between Medwâr and er-Riḥâb (246), which is about 5.3 km. to the n.e. of Mu'amārîyeh, we followed a pleasant



Fig. 46. Eidûn (247).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

narrow little valley southward, through which a small, shallow $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ runs, which farther on becomes known as the Wâdī el-'Ain. Subsequently it joins the Wâdī Khreisân, which finally empties into the Wâdī Zerqā. At a point about 4 km. in a straight line s. of the road, near where several tiny $wudy\hat{a}n$ from various directions converge to form the small Wâdī el-'Ain, is located Mu'amārîyeh. It is spread out on both sides of the little valley, and on the slopes of the hillsides rising gently above its e. and w. sides. There are at least

¹⁸³ April 26, 1944.

three separate groups of ruins or piles of fallen building stones, with hardly a single intact building-stone among them. Were it not for the masses of sherds strewn about, it would be possible at first glance to mistake them for piles of field stones.

The sherds, however, of well baked units of pottery, which have endured longer than the stone houses in which they were originally employed, clearly testify to the history of occupation of this site. Large numbers of sherds were found, and all of them belong exclusively to MBI, with no pottery found there belonging to earlier or later periods. This is one of the most extensive MBI sites that I have come across in Transjordan. One recalls when seeing this site, empty of surface ruins and strewn with masses of MBI potsherds, the very large, purely MBI site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199a). There are now no springs in the immediate vicinity of this site, but it seems reasonable to assume that there must have been some in MBI times. Not far from this site is the small, modern village of 'Ain, bearing the name of the strong spring which rises nearby, and next to which is the ancient site of Tell el-'Ain (305).

The little valley and the gentle slopes leading down into it, in which Mu'amārîyeh is located, are uninhabited and largely uncultivated at the present. This MBI settlement was the first and last one at this particular point. It was not built over any preceding ruins, nor when its own turn came to be destroyed, was any other settlement ever constructed over its ruins. This break and separation in periods of sedentary, agricultural settlement in Transjordan is the main reason for the general absence there of the artificial city-hills, tulûl, which are the rule rather than the exception in Palestine. Excavations of the present remains of buildings at Mu'amārîyeh would probably yield very little in the way of pottery or other finds, because what is visible now represents at best the poor remains of foundations. Were the MBI necropolis to be found, it would undoubtedly yield much information from finds obtained there.

It must be emphasized, that the fact that Mu'amārîyeh was built completely anew on virgin soil is not to be ascribed to the employment of new building techniques, such as made their appearance in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, 185 but rather to the fact that there were large gaps in the sedentary occupation of North Gilead, certainly preceding and to a lesser extent following the MBI period. In other instances, where the compulsions of topography and of securing water did not allow for the establishment of a settlement except in one particular place, we find that the MBI site was built only after

¹⁸⁴ Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16.

¹⁸⁵ Bulletin 91, pp. 25-26; The River Jordan, p. 241.

the passage of a number of centuries upon the ruins of the preceding historical site,—by which time in all likelihood, very little was left of those ruins. ¹⁸⁶ The pottery of Mu'amārîyeh is shown on Pl. 28. 29, and discussed on pp. 445-447.

Tell el-'Ain (305)

About 1.5 km. s. w. of Mu'amārîyeh (304) is Tell el-'Ain (305). It is almost immediately e. s. e. of the small, modern village of 'Ain ('Aineh), which is located on a rise somewhat above it, and which is separated from it by an intervening dip. Between the two sites rises the spring, from which the village and the tell derive their names. The top of the small hill of Tell el-'Ain is divided into two parts by a small dip between the n. e. and s. w. sections. The n. e. section measures about 50 m. in circumference, with the s. w. one being somewhat smaller. Much of the top of the site is occupied by a modern cemetery. Numerous sherds were found on the top and slopes of the hill. They were predominantly Iron Age I-II, and included a considerable number of Roman and Byzantine sherds. However, there were some earlier sherds, some of which can be assigned to the Chalcolithic period, others to EB I-II, MB I, MB II, and several possibly to LB I and LB II. It should be remembered that about 1.5 km, to the s. e. of Tell el-'Ain is the Chalcolithic site of Zakhîreh (306), 187 which helps to make us understand the presence of Chalcolithic sherds on Tell el-'Ain. The latter part of EB seems to be missing, with sedentary occupation recommencing in MBI. A few sherds belong to MBII, with the possibility that some can be assigned to LBI, and others can be dated from Iron I to LB II. The pottery from Tell el-'Ain is shown on Pl. 59 and discussed on pp. 465-466.

It was impossible at the time of our visit to Tell el-'Ain to examine several other sites and buildings in the immediate vicinity. On the n. side of the little valley beyond Tell el-'Ain, on the w. side of the slope of the hill rising above it, was visible a small building, which, from the distance, seemed to belong to the type of a tomb-tower or mausoleum such as Qaṣr Nuweijis n. of 'Ammân.188 This building is called el-Qeṣeir, and the small wâdī which runs between it and Tell el-'Ain is called the Wâdī el-Qeṣeir.

el-Qenîyeh (260)

The site of el-Qenîyeh ¹⁸⁰ (260) is about 1.25 km. n.w. of Tell el-Meghānîyeh ¹⁹⁰ (261), which commands a view over one of the bends of the Wâdī Zerqā. It is in the midst of the rugged, exceedingly cut-up hill country,

¹⁸⁶ Cf. above, pp. 59.60; below, p. 202.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. above, p. 73.

¹⁸⁹ June 18, 1943.

¹⁸⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 175-177.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above, pp. 73-76.

through which numerous wudyan cut their way and join together to force paths down to the Wadī Zerqa. Below the small village of el-Qenîyeh, on top of a hill with gradual approaches from the n., and with steep slopes to the s. and w., a series of powerful springs gush out of a horizontal formation of limestone and join together to form a rushing little stream, which plunges its way downward s. w. to empty into the Wadī el-Qenîyeh,101 which, in turn, after being joined by the Wadī el-Meiteh, descends precipitously s.-s. s. e. to the Wâdī Zerqā. The springs below el-Qenîyeh are used to irrigate some small gardens, but otherwise, most of the water escapes into the Wadī el-Qenîyeh. We did not examine the village of el-Qenîyeh, but did investigate some of the hills and their slopes in its neighborhood. Particularly on the hillsides to the s. of it, in the direction of the Wadī Zerqā, are visible the remains of hundreds of large dolmens. Some of them are half buried under earth, which may have been washed down upon them from above, or which also may possibly be the remainder of the tumuli of earth, under which, we are convinced, all of the dolmens were originally and purposely buried. 192 Some of the dolmens stood on massive, circular, elevated foundations, which too, we believe, were originally covered with tumuli of earth. It would be interesting to examine as many dolmens as possible in Transjordan to attempt to determine if there is any principle involved in the way they are oriented. In general, it seemed to us that they usually pointed towards the descent they overlooked, whenever they were built on hillsides. All in all, counting the thousands of dolmens in Transjordan built on fairly flat plateau lands and hill-tops and slopes, it seems that a very considerable amount of arable land must have gradually been taken out of cultivable use during the dolmen period. We found no sherds whatsoever by el-Qenîyeh, and may have missed the ancient historical site almost always found in the proximity of a strong spring.

Tell 'Ayeishûn (269)

About 5.3 km. to the w.-w. n. w. of el-Qenîyeh (260) is Tell 'Ayeishûn ¹⁰³ (269), which again, like most of the above-mentioned sites with the term *tell* attached to its name, is not in any sense of the word a real *tell*, formed by a series of cities each in turn built on top of the ruins of the preceding one. It is on top of a large, steep hill, commanding a magnificent view particularly over the hill-country leading down to the Wâdī Zerqā, which is visible from its top. There is also a splendid view from this site over the entire Jerash region. About 1.5 km. to the n. e.-n. n. e. of it is a survey cairn erected for

¹⁹¹ ZDPV 48, p. A. 375.

¹⁹² Cf. above, p. 77.

¹⁹⁸ June 19, 1947; ZDPV XLVIII, p. A. 361.

purposes of the government cadastral survey of Transjordan, which marks an elevation of 843 m. above sea-level. The top of the hill of Tell 'Ayeishûn must be very close to this height. Remnants of great boundary walls which go back apparently to Roman times, remain to mark the age-old futility of the attempt of man to fence off pieces of the face of the earth as enduringly his very own. On the very top of the steep hill are the remains of what appears to have been a tiny Roman settlement. Numerous Roman sherds and mosaics were found. There were many cisterns, and near the s. side of this hill-top are the remains of a partly rock-hewn birkeh, about 8 m. square, part of which apparently was once part of a cave. The presence of the ruins on this lonely and bare hill, which for many centuries has apparently known no permanent, civilized occupation, testifies again to the density of population in the Roman period, when population pressure resulted in the employment of all the available arable land and the utilization of marginal lands in a hitherto unknown manner. This intensive occupation continued into the Byzantine period. I have said that the Nabataean occupation of Edom and Moab was greater than any that preceded or followed it. 194 I could more comprehensively now say that the sedentary occupation of all of Transjordan in the Nabataean and contemporary Roman periods, and continuing into the Byzantine period, was greater than any which went before or came after it.195

Khirbet Shereiyit (262)

About 3 km. s. e. of Jerash (275) and 1.5 km. n. e. of the land-mark of Nebī Hûd, which is 710 m. high, is Kh. Shereiyit (262). It is on a bench of land near the top of the slope leading e. above the small, cultivated Wâdī Majâr. The sides of this small $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$, as well as the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed itself, are cultivated. On its e. side is the spring, called 'Ain Shereiyit. This is a small site, with the remains of some walls testifying to former occupation, aside from the datable Roman-Byzantine sherds which were found in considerable numbers. In the center of the site was a large cave-cistern, with another one on the w. slope, and a third on the n. w. side. On the w. slope too were the remains of a columbarium, related in type to the one found at Kh. Abū Ḥarâsī ¹⁰⁶ (285), which is about 2.5 km. to the w. n. w. of it, overlooking the Wâdī Jerash.

Khirbet el-Meshettā (263)

About 1.5 km. s. s. e. of Kh. Shereiyiṭ (262) is Khirbet el-Meshettā (263). It is about a km. e.-e. s. e. of Nebī Hûd, which can be seen towering above it in the distance; and it is a little over a km. s. w. of Khirbet 'Ain Riyâshī

¹⁰⁴ ANNUAL XV, p. 140; OSJ, p. 160.

¹⁰⁵ The River Jordan, p. 119; Bulletin 96, p. 10.

¹⁹⁶ Bulletin 86, pp. 16. 19, Fig. 3.

(270. 271). It is situated on top of a large, completely isolated hill on the s. w. side of the Wadī Tannûr, in which the strong spring of 'Ain Tannûr rises. The spring is to the e. s. e.-s. e. below the site. A whole series of small wudyân surrounds the hill of Khirbet el-Meshetta, and much of the earth on the sides of the hill has, during the centuries, been washed down into them. Practically all of the soil on the very top of the hill has been washed away, exposing the bare rock. A gentle slope leads down to the edge of the hill overlooking 'Ain Tannûr. No ruins are visible on top of the hill. Most of the slopes and the area surrounding the hill are given over to cultivation. Careful search on the top and slopes of the hill, and particularly on the slopes near the top, revealed the presence of a considerable number of sherds, many of them exceedingly worn. Among them were some Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine sherds, while the rest of the distinguishable pieces belonged at the latest to the Middle Chalcolithic period, and some of the sherds seemed to have affinities with sherds of the Neolithic period. 197 This site then is to be related in date of occupation to the above mentioned Chalcolithic sites of Umm Beteimeh (302), Sahrī (303), Zakhîreh (306) and Tell el-Meghānîyeh (261). 198

Khirbet Tannûr (264)

On the e. side of the above-mentioned spring of 'Ain Tannûr is Kh. Tannûr ¹⁹⁹ (264), situated on a large, isolated, terraced hill. No ruins are left on the site, with the exception of the remains of some terrace walls on the slopes. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. There is at the present some cultivation of the shallow bed of the Wâdī Tannûr. There is no question but that in the Roman-Byzantine period there was much more cultivation in this area. There were probably some buildings on top of the hill, all the remains of which, however, have now disappeared.

Khirbet Manşûb (265)

About half a km. s. s. w. of Kh. Tannûr is Kh. Manşûb (265). It is situated on a fairly flat-topped hill, bare of any ruins whatsoever, and now completely cultivated. On the e. side of this site, and on the slope leading down to the little valley below it, are the remains of dolmens, besides the great upright menhir, called Ḥajr Manşûb.²⁰⁰ It is probably to be associated with the dolmens, and dated to the dolmen period in the 6th millennium B. C.²⁰¹ A careful search revealed a small quantity of exceedingly worn sherds, with a clear number of them being generally the same as the earliest sherds found at Khirbet el-Meshettā (263), and belonging to the Middle Chalcolithic period.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. above, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. above, pp. 73-76; below, Pl. 65.

¹⁹⁹ ZDPV 48, p. A. 360.

²⁰⁰ ZDPV 48, p. A. 360; cf. ANNUAL XIV, pp. 33.41.47, Fig. 21.

²⁰¹ Bulletin 91, p. 20; cf. above, p. 77.



Fig. 47. Part of ruins of main building at Mehbethah (266).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 48. Fallen altar at Mehbethah.
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Mehbethah (266)

At the very s. s. e. end of the long hill, on the n. part of which Kh. Manşûb (265) is located, is the site of Meḥbethah (266). It consists of the ruins of a massive, originally excellently constructed building of Roman type (Fig. 47. 48). It was built on a ledge below a rock-face of the s. side of the hill. Numerous building blocks of Herodian type are lying about. The present ruins seem to indicate that it had been rebuilt and transformed perhaps into a Byzantine church. On the ground in front of the ruins of this building are the remains of what looks like a stone altar in an extremely damaged state. The remains of several other buildings can be made out in the neighborhood of the main one, all of them in such a state of destruction as to make it impossible to attempt to determine during the very short time that we spent at the site what they may originally have been. A small number of Roman-Byzantine sherds was found.

Tell Bereiridh (267)

About 1.75 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Mehbethah, and about 2 km. s. of Nebī Hûd is Tell Bereirîdh (267). The Wâdī Tannûr bends around the n. w. end of the site and then plunges in a s. w. direction towards the Wâdī Zerqā. The hill of Tell Bereirîdh is almost completely isolated, being connected only by a narrow saddle at its e. n. e. end to the hill beyond it. Immediately below the steep n. w. side of this high, flat-topped hill, is a waterfall, some 20 m. high, which plunges into the Wâdī Tannûr. The flat hill-top is almost completely ploughed over, with only a small rujm remaining near its n. w. end. A small quantity of sherds was found, which included some Iron Age I-II fragments and some Roman-Byzantine ones. This steep, hilltop site occupied a strong strategic position, with a perennial stream in the Wâdī Tannûr below it, and stands astride the path leading from Jerash and Nebī Hûd to the Wâdī Zerqā.

Khirbet el-'Abbârah (268)

About 1.5 km. to the s.w. of Tell Bereirîdh (267), on the e. side of the Wâdī Riyâshī, of which the above-mentioned Wâdī Tannûr is a part, is Kh. el-'Abbârah ²⁰² (268). It is situated on a fairly high, isolated hill, whose sides are cultivated. On the top of the hill are some ruined, modern houses, and the remains of several almost completely destroyed ones, which may hail back to earlier periods. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. There are some dolmen remains near the top of the hill. About 3.5 km. to the e.-e. n. e. of this site is Tell 'Ayeishûn (269), which we have discussed above.²⁰³

²⁰² ZDPV 48, pp. A. 360. 361.

²⁰³ Cf. above, pp. 85-86.

III. NORTHERN AREA

a. WÂDĪ SHÔMER

North of the e. section of the "dragon-head" part of the watershed, near the center of which Tell Abū 'Ayâteh (301) stands, begin the wudyân which join together to form the Wadī Shômer. This bends n.n.w.-n.w. till it empties into the Wâdī Zeizûn, which in its farther westerly course becomes known as the Wâdī el 'Aweired, and forms one of the main sources of the Yarmûk. To the s. of it, on an average of less than 5 km. away, is the Wâdī Shellâleh, which follows a similar course n. n. w.-n. w. to join with the Wâdī el-'Aweired. Its main upper branch is called the Wâdī Warrân, whose treelike branches touch the sides of the watershed, of which the "dragon's head" part is the e. projection. Tell Qafqafa (253), for instance, overlooks most of the branches of this latter $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -system. These two systems of $wudy\hat{a}n$, embodied ultimately in the Wâdī Shellâleh and the Wâdī Shômer, extend throughout most of the e. half of n. Transjordan, to the n. of a w.-e. line roughly indicated by the positions of Tell Qafqafa (258) and Khanâsrī (245). This large area of n. e. Transjordan, or rather that part of it which is w. of the railway, is much less fertile and was and is much less settled than its n. w. counterpart. The broken hill-country of the latter, for the most part, leads down at first fairly gradually and then precipitously westward to the Jordan Valley. Its northernmost side is marked by a steep descent to the Wâdī Yarmûk (Fig. 49).

Khanâşri (245)

Seven and a half km. n.e. of Tell Abū 'Ayâṭeh (301) towers the great, outstanding hill of Khanâṣrī (245),²⁰⁴ known also as Tell Khanâṣrī. It is the site of a cadastral survey rujm, being some 860 m. high, but nevertheless on a lower level than Tell Abū 'Ayâṭeh, which, as we have seen, stands 1024 m. high. The descent northward from the top of the watershed on which Tell Abū 'Ayâṭeh stands is thus clearly marked. From the distance, Khanâṣrī looks like a great tell. It is a completely isolated, high, rounded hill, standing on top of a ridge, and can be seen from afar. The upper parts of the hill, however, seem definitely to be of artificial construction. Excavations on this hill-top may reveal construction of the type of Herodium ²⁰⁵ or Qarn

²⁰⁴ May 5, 1943; ef. ZDPV 48, pp. A. 353-354.

²⁰⁵ The River Jordan, pp. 215. 216; ZDPV 48, p. A. 352.

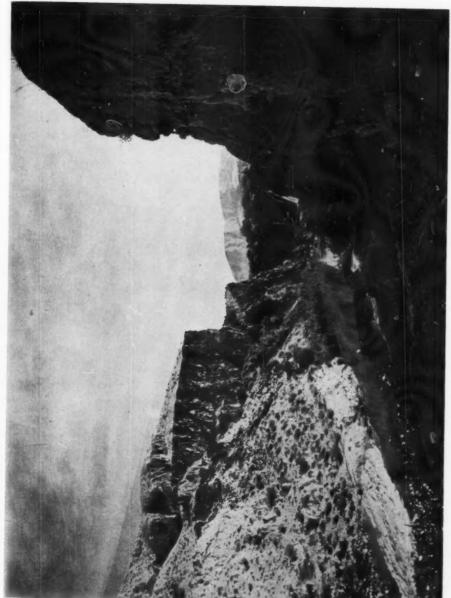


Fig. 49. Wâdī Yarmûk and waterfall of Mekheibeh.

(Phot. S. J. Schweig).

Sartabeh,²⁰⁶ hailing back to Roman times. There are no building remains whatsoever above the surface, but massive blocks of building stone are partly exposed. To judge from the pottery finds there, the site was first occupied in Roman times (Fig. 50).

I have repeatedly examined this site, thinking that such a strikingly outstanding place, with the splendid strategic position it occupies, commanding a view over all of n. e. Transjordan w. of the railway, must have been occupied



Fig. 50. Looking s. w. at Tell Khanâşrî (245).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

earlier than in Roman times, but I have never succeeded in finding a scrap of pottery earlier than Roman. From the top of this site, there is a magnificent view towards the Jebel Drûz and Jebel Ḥaurân and Mount Hermon, and w. over the Jebel 'Ajlûn, and e. and e. s. e. over the plains of the desert, whose chief ancient city is Umm el-Jemâl.²⁰⁷

In the center of the top of the hill of Khanâşrī there seemed originally to have been a tremendously large cistern, now blocked up. There were other cisterns along the slopes. At the bottom of the s. side of the hill is a wide

²⁰⁰ Bulletin 90, pp. 8-10; 62, pp. 14-18; RB X, 1913, pp. 227-234.

³⁰⁷ Bulletin 96, pp. 8-11.

and deep cutting separating it from the hillside rising to the s. of it, and thus completely effecting its isolation. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Tell Fâ (244)

Three and a half km. n. e. of Khanâsrī (245) is Tell Fâ' 208 (244) (Fig. 51.52). It is situated on top of a great, high, isolated hill, whose slopes, as well as the plains round about it, are largely cultivated. The descent from the hilly country of the watershed to the s. w. of it, and from the height on which Khanâşrī is located, is marked. The height of Tell Fâ' is 705 m., compared to the 860 m. of Khanâşrī (245) and the 1024 m. of Tell (Râs) Abū 'Ayâţeh (301), which is on top of the watershed. A short distance to the n. and n. w. of Tell Fâ', one comes to that part of the northern, rolling, plain-country, of which er-Remtha is, and during much of the past has been, a center. Remtha is visible from this site, as is Irbid to the n. w.-w. n. w., and the plains to the w. and n. and e. To the s. w., on top of its ridge, can be seen the towering hill of Khanâsrī. An Arab village is growing up again along the top slopes of the hill. The top of the hill is used as a modern, Moslem cemetery, which covers what seems to be a tell proper. Numerous worked flints were found on the slopes and top of the hill, and large quantities of pottery. There were very numerous Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds, some Hellenistic sherds, and considerable numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The very top of the hill, which seems to be of tell-formation, is oriented approximately n.-s. and measures about 90 by 70 m. We came across several cisterns on the slopes.

Tell Fâ' must have been an important and well known site during Iron Age I-II, and particularly so during Iron Age II, to judge from the very large numbers of sherds of those periods found. They abounded especially on the upper slopes of the site. If excavations could ever be undertaken, the foundation remains of the Iron Age settlements would undoubtedly be revealed. There were only a few Iron Age sites in this entire area, and those that existed must have been known at least by name in wide circles. Yet there seems to be no mention of an Iron Age I-II site in this particular district in the Biblical writings, with which Tell Fâ' might be identified, so far as I can presently make out. The only Biblical site which is possible to locate within the general area to which Tell Fâ' belongs is that of Rāmôth-gilead, which we have identified with Tell er-Rāmîth (242), a little less than 11 km. to the n.e.

²⁰⁸ May 5, 1943; ZDPV 48, p. A. 354.



Fig. 51. Looking s. w. at Tell Fâ' (244).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 52. Looking n.e. at Tell Få. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

of it.²⁰⁹ Apparently, this particular site of Tell Fâ', however important it may have been, did not come within the orbit of interests, according to which the Biblical writers determined whether or not a particular site should be mentioned. We shall discuss in more detail later on the fact that it was not at all the purpose of the Biblical writers to list all of the sites in western and eastern Palestine with which they were acquainted, or to list even all of the most important of these sites. However diverse the Biblical writers were in outlook and separated from each other in time, they were united in the general principles which governed their treatment of geography and topography and particular places, as well as persons and peoples. The stories of men and events and places had to be subsumed under the principle of directly or indirectly serving to relate the activities of mankind and of Israel to the workings and will of the God of history.²¹⁰

Tell Mabrûm (307, 307 a)

There is a tiny Iron Age I-II site, called Tell Mabrûm Sherqī 211 (307 a) about 3.75 km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell Fâ' (244). It is on a small, completely featureless rise, where nothing except a small number of Iron Age I-II sherds was found, with most of them belonging to Iron Age II. It represented a tiny settlement, which may not have consisted of more than a few houses. Their occupants must have existed partly by tilling the soil and by animal husbandry, even as the villagers of Tell Fâ' do to this day. There may be other little knolls in this area on which Iron Age I-II pottery could be found, just as on many of them Roman and Byzantine sherds are found. It is well to repeat here that there was undoubtedly no change in the climate from Iron Age times on to our own day, nor indeed, as we have pointed out elsewhere, have there been in all probability any permanent, major climatic changes in the last 10,000 years.212 Three quarters of a kilometer to the w.s. w. is another small rise, which we are calling Tell Mabrûm Gharbī (307), on which were very numerous, prehistoric worked flints. Our archaeological exploration of Transjordan which has devoted itself to historical periods, and based itself particularly on pottery finds, has been deficient in two particular respects, among others, A survey of equal or greater scope is necessary for the prehistoric periods in Transjordan, and the area to be covered would be much greater, because it would have to include all of the desert reaches, where flint sites abound. It is also deficient in the fact that not enough attention has been paid to the collection of worked flint instruments which were made and used to a minor degree contemporaneously with pottery in historic periods (cf. Pl. 112-115).

²⁰⁰ Bulletin 92, pp. 1-16.

²¹⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 14; OSJ, pp. 31-32.

³¹¹ April 27, 1944.

³¹³ The River Jordan, p. 12.

Umm el-'Azâm (243)

About 7.5 km. to the n. w.-n. n. w. of Tell Fâ' (244), and 2 km. n. w. of the modern village of Boweidah, is the double site of Umm el-'Azâm ²¹³ (243). It is on the n. e. side of the road which leads from Boweidah to er-Remthā. The s. part of the site is on the s. w. side of the road, about three-quarters of a km. away. Both are really one extended site, with fields in between, located on two low knolls, which are covered with cisterns and cave-cisterns. Little is left on the surface to indicate ancient inhabitation of the site except some Roman, more Byzantine, and masses of mediaeval Arabic pottery.

Tell er-Rāmîth (242)

er-Remthā (241)

About 4 km. to the w.n.w. of Umm el-'Azâm (243) is Tell er-Rāmîth (242), and a little less than 7 km. to the n.-n. n. w. of Tell er-Rāmîth is er-Remthā ²¹⁴ (241). And about 12.5 km. to the w. s. w. of Tell er-Rāmîth is the great *tell* of el-Ḥuṣn ²¹⁵ (1). All three sites must be considered in relationship to the possibility of identifying one of them with the famous Biblical site of Rāmôth-gilead.²¹⁶

In recent years the identification of Rāmôth-gilead with el-Ḥuṣn (Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn) first suggested by Dalman,²¹⁷ has been generally accepted ²¹⁸ in preference to the earlier identification of Rāmôth-gilead with er-Remthā.²¹⁰ I find the reasons for the adoption of the one and rejection of the other equally unacceptable. When the identification with el-Ḥuṣn was made, the archaeological exploration of North Gilead in accordance with modern standards had hardly begun. The evidence now available as a result of the exploration of that area by the expeditions of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, has ruled el-Ḥuṣn out of consideration. It is a very imposing, and largely artificial mound, with considerable masses of Bronze and Iron Age pottery on its surfaces. It enjoys a commanding position guarding the approaches to

²¹³ May 5, 1943.

⁹¹⁴ May 4 and 6, 1943.

²¹⁵ June 15, 1942.

²¹⁶ Bulletin 92, pp. 10-16.

²¹⁷ Palästinajahrbuch 1913, p. 64.

²¹⁸ Albright, Bulletin 19, p. 16; 35, p. 11; Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, II, p. 435; de Vaux, Notes d'histoire et de topographie transjordaniennes, in Vivre et Penser, RB XL, 1941, pp. 32, n. 2.

²¹⁰ Hölscher, ZDPV 29, 1906, pp. 135-137; Smend, ZAW 1902, p. 158. The locating by Eusebius and Hieronymus, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klosterman, pp. 146. 147 of Rāmôthgilead on the Jabbok is completely out of the question.

the most fruitful areas of Gilead from the Ḥaurân. The possibility of identifying it, however, with Rāmôth-gilead disappears when compared to other sites whose remote antiquity has been demonstrated anew or determined for the first time.

A careful examination of er-Remtha, a very large village situated in the center of the plain marking the transition from North Gilead to the stretches of Haurân, resulted in the discovery there for the first time of considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds. This lends new attractiveness to the old equation of er-Remthā with Rāmôth-gilead. 220 However, as we shall see below. we are compelled to discard also this equation. If the choice were limited only to el-Husn and er-Remtha, there is no question but that the latter would be picked. In addition to numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds, considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds were found. They were discovered as a result of some excavations on the e, side of the low rise on which the modern town sprawls. Some new cisterns had been dug, which, penetrating through thick layers of more or less modern debris, exposed masses of sherds. None had previously been found on the surface, primarily, one assumes, because of the great quantities of comparatively modern debris which covered them. There is no longer any question, to judge from this chance find, but that er-Remtha was heavily occupied during the Iron Age. It shows conclusively, furthermore, that the lack of evidence on the surface of a site such as er-Remtha is definitely no proof that it never existed there. There are numerous villages in Transjordan and Palestine, which obviously occupy important ancient sites, but on the surfaces of which no ancient sherds can be found. They may well be buried under heaps of debris of all kinds.

Er-Remthā is situated on a low, extensive rise, all of which is covered today by houses and dumps of the modern town. A short distance away from it, the Wâdī Shômer bends around its e. and n. e. sides. It is a sort of a county seat, on the e.-w. road which leads through the plain stretching between Der'ā and Irbid. At both of the latter places, considerable numbers of Bronze and Iron Age sherds have been found.²²¹ Confirming the finds of others, I have found numerous BA and large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds at Irbid.²²² Er-Remthā is also on an important n.-s. road leading between Damascus and 'Ammân. While no BA sherds have thus far been found at er-Remthā, it would seem likely that excavations might reveal their presence, in the same way that chance excavations unearthed Iron Age sherds.

²²⁰ Cf. above, p. 96, n. 219; Bullein 92, pp. 10.11.

²²¹ Albright, Bulletin 19, p. 16; 35, p. 11.

²²² Cf. below, pp. 153-154.

Were there no other site to be considered for identification with Rāmôth-gilead in the vicinity of er-Remthā, I should have no hesitation in asserting that er-Remthā alone can be identified with it. It meets all or almost all of the demands for that identification. It is (a) located on an important road intersection, which was apparently there also in ancient times; (b) its name is suggestive of Rāmôth; (c) it is in a rich agricultural district; (d) it is located in a broad plain, in which chariots could easily have manoeuvred, to judge from the Biblical accounts of the battle in which Ahab of Israel was mortally wounded when he and Jehoshaphat of Judah fought against the Syrians at Rāmôth-gilead; ²²³ (e) it is in North Gilead; (f) it is close to the Syrian border; (g) it has the proper kind of pottery.

Er-Remthā, however, is not located in a strong position. The rise on which it is situated lifts the town noticeably above the level of the surrounding plain, but its position cannot compare with that of Tell el-Ḥuṣn (Ḥuṣn ʿAjlûn), with which, as we have seen, it has been identified in the past.²²⁴ There is, nevertheless, no question but that modern er-Remthā is built upon the site of an important Iron Age settlement. The inhabitants of ancient er-Remthā, as of all the sites in this northern plain, depended upon cisterns for their water supply, just as they do today.

Tell er-Rāmîth (242)

There is, however, in this region of North Gilead a site, not far from er-Remthā, whose candidacy for identification with Rāmôth-gilead is so strong, that, everything considered, I am inclined to give it the accolade of recognition. It is Tell er-Rāmîth (242), (Fig. 53), somewhat less than 7 km. s.-s. s. e. of er-Remthā (241). It is on a three-knolled hill, which rises commandingly above the plain round about it, and dominates the entire countryside. Er-Remthā, Irbid, Khanâṣrī, and numerous other sites are clearly visible from it. It is completely surrounded by fertile, rolling plains. The entire hill at the time of our visit,²²⁵ was completely ploughed over and planted to wheat. It was very difficult therefore to find sherds on the slopes of the hill. Indeed, it was only on a comparatively bare spot on top of the highest and central knoll of the hill that we succeeded in finding large numbers of clear Iron Age I-II sherds as well as some Roman and Byzantine sherds.

²²⁸ I Kings 22: 29-39; II Kings 8: 28; 9: 1-4; I Kings 4: 13.

²²⁴ One of the reasons for rejecting er-Remthā in favor of some other site is, as Dalman, PJB 1913, pp. 63-64, has pointed out, that if the Dathema of I Macc. 5, 9, which Syr. reads as Rathema, where a long siege was endured, is to be associated with Rāmôth-gilead, as is frequently done, then it would have to be a stronger site than ancient er-Remthā could possibly have been.

²²⁵ May 6, 1943.

All the reasons cited above in connection with the possible identification of er-Remthā with Rāmôth-gilead apply with equal force to the identification of Tell er-Rāmîth with Rāmôth-gilead, with two exceptions which make the case for the latter much stronger than for the former. They are (a) the incomparably stronger position of Tell er-Rāmîth as compared to that of er-Remthā, and (b) as Albright has pointed out to me, the much closer



Fig. 53. Looking s. e. at Tell er-Rāmîth (242).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

relationship of the name of Tell er-Rāmîth than of the name er-Remthā to Rāmôth-gilead. In connection with a conversation I had had with him dealing with my finds at er-Remthā and Tell er-Rāmîth, he wrote: ²²⁶

"I suggest you give Remthā up entirely and adopt your own discovery, Tell Rāmîth, for the following reasons. Name and archaeological indications are perfect. $R\bar{a}mit$ goes back to Aram. " $R\bar{a}m\hat{e}t < R\bar{a}m\hat{e}t < R\bar{a}m\hat{o}t$, just as modern 'Almît goes back to Heb. "' $Al\bar{a}m\hat{o}t$, Reqqit to " $Raqq\hat{o}t$, 'Ainit through ' $Ain\hat{e}t$ (which also occurs) to ' $Ain\hat{a}t$ = Hebrew ' $ay\bar{a}n\hat{o}t$. There are many other parallels for this particular series of sound changes." $Raqq\hat{o}t$ (which also occurs) to ' $Raqq\hat{o}t$

²²⁶ August 30, 1943.

²²⁷ Subsequently, in Bulletin 92, p. 13, n. 8a, Albright added the following note to the above comment: "This change is discussed by Kampffmeyer in his fundamental

It is not beyond the range of possibility that the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob ²²⁸ is also to be identified with Tell er-Rāmîth. To be sure, I found no traces of Bronze Age occupation there, but perhaps another visit to the site, when it is not so overgrown with wheat and weeds as it was when I visited it, will yield evidence of an early settlement. It may be added, however, that the Biblical account does not require a permanent sedentary occupation of the site in the time of Laban and Jacob. It must nevertheless be affirmed that whether or not such evidence is forthcoming, Rāmôth-gilead need not necessarily be identified with the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob.

Indeed, it is necessary to take serious exception to the cross-word equation accepted by many scholars ²²⁹ of the following: Rāmôth-gilead, Rāmath ham-Mizpeh, ²³⁰ Mizpeh-gilead or Mizpah of Jepthah, ²³¹ and the Mizpah or Gal'ēd of Jacob. ²³² The assumption that Rāmôth-gilead in the list of Levitical cities ²³⁸ probably takes the place of Rāmath ham-Mizpeh in Josh. 13:26 is completely gratuitous. De Vaux ²³⁴ too rejects the identification of Rāmôth-gilead with Rāmath ham-Mizpah, but agrees to the identification of Rāmath ham-Mizpah with the Mizpeh-gilead of Jepthah and the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob, because, in accordance with Abel's ²³⁵ earlier suggestion, he locates Jacob's Mizpah (Gal'ēd) s. of the Jabbôq and identifies it with Kh. Jel'âd. ²³⁶

Much more about the archaeology of North Gilead is known today than several years ago when de Vaux made the above identifications. In view of the new-materials found, he might very well now desire to change his position. He also rejects the identification of the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob with

monograph on principles governing the phonetic shifts between ancient and modern Palestinian place-names (ZDPV, 1892, pp. 93, 95 f.). Though his treatment is antiquated it still has value. Note already the change (by dissimilation!) of â to ê in early Aramaic sâmerên (Assyr. Samerêna) for somerên, Haurên (Assyr. Haurêna) for Haurên. Aramaic ê became î before the names were taken over by the Arabs. The name, which means knolls, would evidently refer to the three knolls which are so characteristic of the site."

²²⁸ Gen. 31: 47-49.

²²⁰ Cf. Gunkel, Die Urgeschichte u. d. Patriarchen, in Die Schriften d. A. T., I, p. 226; Smend, ZAW, 1902, pp. 155-157; Noth, Das Buch Josua, p. 55, who completely gratuitously identifies Rāmath ham-Mizpeh of Josh. 13: 26 with Jepthah's Mizpeh-gilead (Mizpah).

²³⁰ Josh. 13: 26.

²³¹ Judges 11: 11. 29. 34; 10: 17.

²³² Gen. 31: 47-49.

²³³ Dt. 4: 43; Josh. 20: 8; 21: 36; I Chron. 6: 65.

²⁸⁴ Op. cit. p. 32.

²³⁵ Abel, Géographie, II, p. 390.

²²⁶ Cf. de Vaux op. cit., p. 33; Glueck, Annual XVIII-XIX, pp. 231-232.

Rāmôth-gilead, pointing out that there is no record of Rāmôth-gilead being a frontier post between Aram and Israel before the Iron Age,—a fact I have dealt with above. Rejecting correctly the identification of Rāmôth-gilead with Rāmath ham-Mizpeh and perhaps correctly with the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob, de Vaux however equates Rāmath ham-Mizpeh with the Mizpeh-gilead (Mizpah) of Jepthah and the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob, and then, as we have seen, all three of them with Kh. Jel'âd,²³⁷ which is s. of the Jabbôq.

It may indeed be possible to identify the Rāmath ham-Mizpeh of Josh. 13:26 with Kh. Jel'ad. That leaves Jepthah's Mizpeh-gilead and Jacob's Mizpah to be dealt with. Assuming that the Mizpeh-gilead of Judges 11:29 is the same as the Mizpah of Judges 11: 11. 34 (although they need not necessarily be the same), there is nothing in the Biblical account to indicate that this site was south of the Jabbôq, or that it did not require a fairly long march from there before Jepthah reached the territory of the Ammonites. Indeed, to judge from the entire Biblical account of the life and deeds of Jepthah, there is every reason to believe that Mizpeh-gilead (Mizpah) is to be located in North Gilead. During the part of his life just before he became a national leader, Jepthah was more at home outside of the north limits of Gilead than in Gilead proper, as Judges 11 informs us. When Jepthah returned to Gilead after having administered a defeat to the Ammonites, he was met there in his home in Mizpah (Judges 11:34) by his only daughter, and was compelled in tragic fulfillment of his vow to devote her to the deity. It was in all probability from Mizpah in North Gilead, as I have previously pointed out,238 that he subsequently had to go down to Zaphôn (Tell el-Qôs) in the Jordan Valley to treat with the Ephraimites, and failing to assuage their intransigeance and anger, to attack and defeat them. It seems clear, furthermore, that the Mizpah from which he came and to which he returned on his way back from the Ammonite war, was in North and not in South Gilead. There were probably several sites with that name or compounded with that name in North Gilead alone, and I find it too difficult to fix any particular site for identification with Jepthah's home. I am satisfied, however, that it was north and not south of the Jabbôq River, and that it is impossible to equate, as Abel and de Vaux do, Rāmath ham-Mizpeh with it.

The identification of the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob with the Mizpah (Mizpeh-gilead) of Jepthah seems certain to de Vaux. Inasmuch as he equates Jepthah's Mizpah (Mizpeh-gilead) with Rāmath ham-Mizpah and with Kh. Jel'ad, he comes to the conclusion that Jacob's Mizpah (Gal'ēd) is also to be equated with Kh. Jel'ad, and therefore to be located on the s. side of the Jabbôq

²⁸⁷ De Vaux, op. cit., pp. 32, 33.

²³⁵ Bulletin 90, p. 20.

River. To build a background for this surprising conclusion, de Vaux made a number of statements, which our archaeological investigations compel us to differ with. I doubt whether Père de Vaux would still maintain those statements, but for the sake of setting the record straight, I would like to record why I disagree with his original statements. I quote from the original in *Vivre et Penser*: ²³⁰

"Aucune ne se place dans la région montagneuse, qui va de Ḥoṣn au Nahr ez-Zerqa. L'archéologie rendra peut-être compte de ce fait . . . il faut attendre que l'exploration systématique entrepise par M. N. Glueck soit achevée. Celle-ci montrera, je crois, que le coeur du 'Ağlûn a été à peu près inhabité, non seulement a l'époque du Bronze, mais aussi a l'époque du Fer. Cette région, très accidentée et couverte anciennement par des forêts, était évitée par les caravanes et les sédentaires ne s'y sont pas établis."

I have, however, found both Bronze and Iron Age sites in the very heart of the 'Ajlûn district, as we shall see in the more detailed discussion of the 'Ajlûn district below.²⁴⁰ At 'Ain Meḥnā ²⁴¹ (39 b), a few km. n. of 'Ajlûn, is a very extensive Bronze and Iron Age site, situated by one of the strongest springs in Transjordan. At 'Ajlûn, itself, Bronze Age pottery has been found.²⁴² I am confident, furthermore, that either under the modern village of 'Ajlûn, or somewhere near it or its very strong spring, a large Iron Age site must have been located. It is unquestionably true that the heavily forested area of the heart of the 'Ajlûn district was much less thickly settled than other parts of Transjordan, but to say that sedentary occupation did not establish itself there is going too far. As a result of this preconception of the nature of settlement or lack of it in the 'Ajlûn district, de Vaux bolstered his belief that Jacob could not very well have followed a caravan route from the n. through this district before reaching the Jabbôq River.

In pursuance of this general argument and belief, de Vaux makes a statement with regard to the eastern boundary of Gad, that I find unacceptable. Identifying the Mizpeh-gilead of Jepthah with Kh. Jel'ad, as Dalman had previously,²⁴³ de Vaux says: ²⁴⁴

"Ce point peut figurer comme limite d'Israël, car le territoire normal de Gad ne s'étendait pas beaucoup plus à l'Est. D'autre part, il n'y a guère de doute que les Araméens nomadisaient anciennement à l'Orient de la Transjordanie et pas seulement au Nord et au Nord-Est."

^{230 (}RB) XL, 1941, pp. 28-29.

²⁴⁰ Cf. pp. 227-233.

²⁴¹ June 24, 1942; cf. below, pp. 227-229.

²⁴² Koeppel, TG I, p. 64; Wright, PPEB, p. 61.

²⁴⁸ PJB VI, 1910, p. 21; de Vaux, RB 1938, pp. 416-417; Abel, Géographie II, p. 390.

²⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 33.

Why the e, boundary of Gad should arbitrarily be put on a line running through Kh. Jel'ad is not clear to me. A place such as Kh. Umm ed-Denānîr,245 which is incomparably more important and far more strategically located, and is situated farther east, is very much preferable as a boundary site to Kh. Jel'ad, if indeed one is to fix the e, boundary of Gad on the w, side of the Beq'ah. One might refer also to the Bronze and Iron Age sites by the Wâdī Remeimîn,246 or the large Bronze and Iron Age site of Kh, er-Rummân,247 -all of them e. of Kh. Jel'ad. One might also point out in connection with Kh. Jel'ad, just as de Vaux argued when rejecting Rāmôth-gilead for identification with the Mizpah (Gal'ed) of Jacob, that there is no evidence of its having had a pre-Iron Age history,-although I do not regard that as a very important point. The point which de Vaux makes with regard to the possibility of the Aramaeans living as nomads not only n. and n. e. of Transjordan but also e. of it, is made in order to have Jacob come from that direction after leaving Laban, and thus avoid the route from the n., which is uncomfortable for de Vaux's theory. He caps his theory with a statement, according to which Jacob's journey homeward through Transjordan, as described in the Bible, touches Kh. Jel'ad and continues thence westward to the Jordan. In this connection, de Vaux writes: 248

"Je crois donc que c'est par un itinéraire a travers le Galaad primitif au Sud du Zerqa que la tradition israélite se représentait le retour du Patriarche A l'époque patriarcale, le Nord de la Transjordanie, Basan était occupé par des sédentaires, qui se seraient opposés à un passage de nomades; plus au Sud, le massif boisé du 'Ağlūn était évité par les caravanes. Le prudent Jacob a contourné ces deux obstacles et a choisi un accès plus méridional vers la vallée du Jourdain."

De Vaux's entire, brilliantly labored thesis is predicated upon the theory that Jacob's return journey through Transjordan was made entirely on the south side of the Jabbôq River, and is connected with the identification of the Mizpah (Gal'ēd) of Jacob with Kh. Jel'ad. I see no reason for the assumption that the sedentary settlements of Bashan would have impeded his journey, any more than any of the early Bronze Age settlements in Transjordan might have. For that matter, the latter too could have stopped him from even taking the route that de Vaux thinks Jacob did take. Whether or not Jacob came east of, skirted the edge of, or came through part of Jebel 'Ajlûn proper, before he turned westward along the Jabbôq River, is impossible to determine. It is, however, possible to say that the Mizpah of Jacob seems definitely to have been

²⁴⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 197.

²⁴⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 230-232.

⁸⁴⁷ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 224-225.

²⁴⁸ Op. cit., p. 33.

in North Gilead, and that if he had wanted to he could have found his way along regularly traveled tracks even through the very heart of the 'Ajlûn district.

Seleih (240)

About 5 km. to the w.n.w.-n.w. of er-Remthā (241) is Şeleiḥ ²⁴⁰ (240). It is located on one of a series of knolls in the area immediately bordering the Syrian frontier. Der'ā is visible from it, about 5.5 km. to the n.e. Numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, but no traces of any constructions, other than a considerable number of rectangular, rock-cut burial shafts. There are numerous caves round about.

el-Qeseir (237)

About 3.25 km. n. n. e.-n. e. of er-Remthā (241) is el-Qeṣeir (237). It is on a small, gently rising hill, on whose slopes and top are some cisterns. On the top of it are some small foundation ruins. It is situated in a rolling landscape, with the countryside covered with growing wheat at the time of our visit on May 4, 1943. There were some Byzantine, and very numerous mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed sherds. The slopes and most of the top of the small hill were also given over to cultivation. This general area on the e. side of the Wâdī Shômer, and extending between er-Remthā and Der'ā, is far less fertile than the broken plateau land to the w. and s. w., for instance, of Irbid. Not only are the Bronze and Iron Age sites limited in number, but the number of any kind of settlements is extremely small. Most of the sites in it which can still be recognized, belong to the Roman and Byzantine periods. The density of population then in Transjordan compelled the exploitation of marginal and semi-marginal lands, where inordinate effort was required to produce irregular crops, which, however, in favorable years could be extraordinarily good.

Ehweirah (238)

About 2.5 km. to the e. n. e. is Ehweirah (238). It is on a small, fairly flat-topped hill, which was completely ploughed over at the time of our visit. There were some caves on the site, several of them having collapsed. Roman and Byzantine sherds were lying about on the surface. The wheat growing round about the site seemed to be in extraordinarily good condition. The owners of the fields probably come from er-Remthā.

el-Kōkalîyah (239)

About 6.5 km. due n. of Ehweirah (238), and 3.5 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of the village of et-Turrah, and about 8 km. w. n. w.-n. w. of Der'ā is el-Kōkalîyeh

²⁴⁰ May 4, 1943.

(239). It is directly on the Syrian border. Some of the border markers are on the site proper. It is on a rise in rough, rolling country, overlooking the Wâdī Meddân, one of the main eastern tributaries of the Wâdī Yarmûk. The site is spread over several small hillocks, on which no building remains are left. Numerous fragments of Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval pottery were found. On the hilltop immediately overlooking the descent to the Wâdī Meddân, I counted 7 rectangular, rock-cut burial shafts, and there were probably many more. The likelihood is that these burial shafts belong to the Byzantine period, but that statement is not based upon investigation. The countryside round about this site is planted to wheat. The railway station of Mezeirîb beyond the n, side of the Wâdī Meddân is visible from this site.

b. WÂDĪ SHELLÂLEH

Heraqlā (322)

About 13 km. n. w. of Jerash is Heraqlā (322).²⁵⁰ It is about 3.5 km. n. n. e. of the village of 'Ebillîn, and is in the north-central part of the highlands, which form a central watershed between Jerash and Irbid. For various fortuitous reasons, most of this stretch of cultivated highlands has not been examined by the archaeological survey expeditions of the Jerusalem School. I am convinced, however, that the historical results arrived at from the investigation of all the surrounding areas would not be changed by an exhaustive examination of this particular area. The results obtained from the examination of Heraqlā (322), are in harmony with those arrived at from the study of numerous other sites in North Gilead.

Heraqlā is situated on top of a high hill, whose slopes are cultivated from bottom to top. The top of the hill is marked by extensive foundation ruins, and is littered with fallen building stones. The top of the hill seems once to have been enclosed within a strong wall, but it were dangerous to attempt to date it without considerable excavations. However, numerous sherds were found which enabled us to get a rather clear picture of the various periods of occupation of the site. There are numerous, very worn fragments of EB sherds, most of which seem to belong to the first part of EB, and more specifically to EB I-II, with some belonging to EB III, and a few sherds, including face-combed fragments, which might belong anywhere in EB. The EB sherds included smooth ledge-handles of EB I-II, one of them with indented edges, EB I-II collared rims, EB II stump bases, EB I-III inverted platter rims, EB I-II flaring rims, and EB flat bases, hole-mouth rims, and face-combed sherds. There seemed to be no sherds, such as inverted ribbed rims, for

²⁵⁰ Nov. 12, 1946.

instance, which could definitely be assigned to EB IV. The apparent absence of clear EB IV sherds is in agreement with the fact which seems to be general for North Gilead,—namely a very marked decline in the history of permanent sedentary occupation in most of North Gilead during EB IV. The 1945-1946 excavations of Khirbet Kerak on the shore of the Lake of Galilee under the auspices of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society have shown that there too, apparently, occupation during EB IV was missing, although strongly represented during EB I-III.

There were fairly numerous MB I and MB II sherds at Heraqlā, and very large quantities of Iron Age I-II sherds, in addition to Roman and Byzantine sherds. The apparent absence of LB sherds is puzzling. ²⁵¹ Most of the BA sherds were found on the n. slope of the hill, which leads down in broad terraced stages to a small w.-e. $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ at its base. There is no spring immediately by the side of the hill of Heraqlā today.

Zaharet el-Kanîseh (293)

On an eastern outspur of the highlands in which Heraqlā is located, and a little over 7 km. e.-e. n. e. of it is Zaharet el-Kanîseh (293).²⁵² It is about 1.5 km. w.-w. s. w. of Tell Ya'amûn (297), which is visible in the distance beyond a cultivated valley, and on a lower elevation. From its position, on top of its high hill, Zaharet el-Kanîseh commands a view over the rolling plain, which stretches northward into Syria. Mt. Hermon and Jebel Drûz are visible from it. On top of the hill are the remains of a Byzantine church. There is little left except foundation ruins. Numerous fragments of Byzantine pottery were found. There is a deep cave-cistern below what originally may have been the e. bay of the church. Quantities of mosaic squares were strewn about the area.

Tell Ya'amûn (297)

Below the edge of the outspur on which Zaharet el-Kanîseh (293) is located, is the large mound of Tell Ya'amûn (297).²⁵³ It commands a view over the rolling hills to the e. of it, which too are on a lower level than the outspur of the highlands on which Zaharet el-Kanîseh (293) is located, but on a higher level than the plain beyond, which stretches n. to Syria. Tell Khanâşrī (245) is visible from Tell Ya'amûn, being located on its outstandingly high hill 12 km. away to the e. The rolling, hilly country in which Tell Ya'amûn is

²⁵¹ Cf. Albright, Bulletin 86, p. 20, n. 16a.

²⁵² Aug. 14, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 18.

²⁵⁵ Aug. 14, 1939; cf. ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 265; Albright, Bulletin 35, pp. 11-12; 68, p. 21, n. 21; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 36.

situated, reaches to the edge of the fertile plain to the n. and n. e. of it. At the s. end of that plain, as we shall see, Khirbet Qabr (292) is located.

From the n. to the e. sides, the slopes of the hill of Tell Ya'amûn ascend steeply in three stages before reaching the large, flat top. On the lower stages in particular, numerous Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, including some EB-MB II and some Iron I-II sherds. It is on the top, however, that most of the EB-MB II and Iron I-II sherds were found. I have previously described the BA sherds from Tell Ya'amûn and a number of related sites as belonging to "EB IV-MB II A." 254 Unfortunately, due to my various peregrinations between Palestine and Transjordan and America since I first visited Tell Ya'amûn in 1939, I have misplaced the sherds from this site, and from several others that I visited at the same time. These are the only ones that have gone astray out of more than a thousand sites. I am thus, at the time of writing, not in a position to reexamine these sherds, and see whether or not I would not come to the same conclusions in 1950 that I did in 1939. I now have a very much better understanding of the pottery of North Gilead than I had then. My hesitation to accept my former dating of the EB pottery to "EBIV" is heightened by the fact that, as I pointed out above,255 there seems to be but exceedingly little EB IV pottery in most of North Gilead, aside from such forms as extend throughout the entire EB period. Were I to be able to reexamine my sherd collection from this site, the answer might be that I had found only those EB sherds which could be classed as such, but with no more definiteness than that. There seemed definitely to be no LB sherds at Tell Ya'amûn. The only sherds among the many examined there, which might possibly at one time years back have been considered as belonging to the end of LB, were independently dated by Albright and Wright, in corroboration of the writer's own previous conclusions, to Iron Age I.²⁵⁶

There is evidence that a strong outer wall encircled the top of the hill of Tell Ya'amûn. It may well belong to the pre-Iron Age period of occupation of the site, but careful excavations would be required to attempt definitely to determine its date. There are some completely destroyed buildings on top of the site, whose age too is indeterminate, which may belong to the latest periods of occupation. On the w. side of the hill, on the lower terrace, is a large cistern, with a stone water trough by it. There are numerous other cisterns on and around the site.

²⁵⁴ Bulletin 86, p. 20.

²⁵⁵ Cf. p. 106; Bulletin 86, p. 20.

²⁵⁰ Albright, Bulletin 86, p. 20, n. 14a; 68, p. 21, n. 21; 35, p. 11.

Khirbet Qabr (292)

About 4 km. n. e. of Tell Ya'amûn, at the s. edge of the fertile plain which stretches to Syria, is Khirbet Qabr (292).²⁵⁷ Like Tell Ya'amûn, it is situated by one of the small wudyân, which ultimately join together to create the Wâdī Warrân, which, in turn, joins with several other wudyân to form the Wâdī Shellâleh. Khirbet Qabr is on a low, cultivated hilltop, immediately above the junction of the Jerash and Irbid-Ne'eimeh roads. It is a large, completely destroyed site, on which some Roman and Byzantine sherds and large numbers of mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. There were numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns on the site.

Zambût Meleik (291)

The road, which after the junction of the 'Ajlûn and Jerash roads leads n. n. e. through the central highlands, near the north-central part of which Heragla (322) is located, and finally after passing through the beginning of the northern plains reaches Irbid, roughly marks the dividing line between the e. and w. slopes of the watershed which these highlands form. Less than 7 km, n, n, e, of Heraqla (322), on the e, side of the road is Zambût Meleik (291) 258 (Fig. 54). It is situated on a hill, all of whose slopes were anciently terraced wherever possible. The comparatively barren hill-country begins to level out below this site and merge into the rich plain of northern Transjordan. The hillsides in this area are largely eroded now, and their slopes are only in places scratchily cultivated. The ancient terraces on the slopes of the hill of Zambût Meleik have, where still more or less intact, largely retarded this process of erosion. The e. side of the hill is the steepest one. On top of the hill is a large rujm, representing the remains apparently of a blockhouse, about 35 m. square. It guarded the once comparatively prosperous countryside, A considerable number of Iron Age I-II sherds was found, in addition to some later Roman and Byzantine sherds and a few exceedingly worn fragments, which might possibly belong to MBI (?). The likelihood seems to be that the blockhouse originally belonged to the Iron Age I-II period, but only excavations could determine that.

Dâriyā (21) and Jâriyā (22)

About three quarters of a km. to the e.-e. n. e. of Zambûṭ Meleik (291) is Dârīyā (21).²⁵⁹ It is a small, completely ruined site, on the slope of a hill, overlooking a small $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The meager foundation ruins of a building are

²⁵⁷ August 13, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 20.

²⁵⁸ August 14, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 21; ZDPV 49, p. A. 433

²⁵⁰ June 18, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 433.

visible, with numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds round about. Cisterns and cave-cisterns supplied water for the site. In the immediate vicinity of the ruined building and elsewhere on the slopes of the hill are shaft-tombs of the Roman and Byzantine periods, with a sarcophagus still in position in one of them. Several other smashed sarcophagi were visible. On the opposite side of the small $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, to the s. s. w., less than half a km. away, are the ruins of a similar site, called $J\hat{a}r\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}$ (22).



Fig. 54. Looking w.s. w. at Zambût Meleik (291).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Muntar Yarîn (287)

Two km. to the e.-e. n. e. of Dârīyā (21) is Munṭar Yarîn (287).²⁶⁰ It is situated on top of a high and steep hill, the slopes of which are still marked by ancient terraces. Wherever they have not been broken down, or have been kept in repair, they still help hold the soil in place. Such benches of soil as yet remain are still cultivated. On the very top of this high hill are the

⁹⁰⁰ August 14, 1939; Bulletin 86, p. 21; ZDPV 49, p. A. 437.

foundation-ruins of a small watch-tower, which commanded a fine view over the entire countryside. The village of Ṣamad is visible on top of a high hill to the w.n.w. To the n., in the plain of northern Transjordan, can be seen the villages of el-Ḥuṣn, Ṣariḥ, Ḥawârah, Beit Râs, and Irbid, among others. On a low hill, below the level of this site, about 2 km. away to s. e.-e. s. e. the village of Kitim is visible and the village of Ne'eimeh farther away to the s. e. On the rocky way up the slopes of the hill leading to the ruined watch-tower on its top, are several ancient cisterns almost completely filled with debris. Numerous sherds were picked up on these slopes, and they were predominantly Iron Age I-II. Among them was an unusually large number of burnished sherds, and one fragment with a "nail"-handle. There were also Roman and Byzantine sherds, and one worked flint was found.

Munțâr el-Khaldeh (288)

Munţâr el-Khaldeh (288),²⁰¹ known also as Tell Yarîn,²⁰² on top of a high hill, is directly opposite Munţâr Yarîn, being to the s. s. w. of it, with a small cultivated divide between them. The top of this hill is flat, and its comparatively large area was, apparently, originally surrounded by a wall. This flat hill-top is given over to cultivation today, and was completely ploughed over at the time of our visit. A small quantity of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found, but nothing else, although this is definitely the type of site on which frequently early BA sherds are found. Across a steep divide to the w. of Munţâr Khaldeh is, some 2.5 km. away, the site of Zambût Meleik (291), which from the distance has the appearance of a small tell.

Muntâr Zibdeh (289)

To the n.e.-e. n.e. of Munţâr Yarîn (287), over a km. away, is Munţâr Zibdeh (289),²⁶³ on top of a low hill. Munţâr Yarîn overlooks it. Across the divide, is the modern village of Kitim to the s.e. Munţâr Zibdeh is about 4 km. s. s. e. of el-Ḥuṣn (1). On the s. side of the hilltop of Munţâr Zibdeh is a very large cistern, with five additional cisterns visible on the s. e. and e. sides. There may well be more of them. On top of the hill are the disturbed foundation remains of what may originally have been a fortress. It had been constructed of limestone and flint blocks, and may originally have belonged to the Iron Age period.

On the top and slopes of the hill, large quantities of sherds were found, which were predominantly Iron Age I-II, including much Iron Age I-II burnished ware. A small number of sherds belonged to EB-MB II. There were also some fragments of Byzantine pottery, and numerous mediaeval

²⁶¹ Bulletin 86, p. 21.

²⁶² ZDPV 49, p. A. 437.

²⁶³ Bulletin 86, p. 22.

Arabic sherds. What I have said above ²⁶⁴ concerning the EB sherds found at Tell Ya'amûn can be repeated here, inasmuch as I have misplaced the sherds from this site too. Its history of occupation parallels that of Tell Ya'amûn. Here, too, however, there is no evidence of occupation in the LB period. Albright has previously pointed out that this is in harmony with literary evidence, because neither the Amarna letters nor the Egyptian lists of conquered towns mention any site south of the region of Faḥil, Irbid and el-Ḥuṣn.²⁶⁵

$R\hat{a}^{\epsilon}y\bar{a}$ (18)

About 1.8 km. w. n. w.-n. w. of Zambût Meleik (291) is Râ'yā (18). It is on the w, side of the road through the central highlands, mentioned above in the discussion of Zambût Meleik (291), and which road roughly marks the dividing line between the e. and w. slopes of the watershed which these highlands form.²⁶⁶ To be consistent, therefore, it would have been well to wait with the treatment of any of the sites west of this road, till those e, of it, being treated in connection with the Wâdī Shellâleh drainage area, had been described, and the others had been arrived at in the order of their geographical position. Inasmuch, however, as they are so close to Zambût Meleik (291) and several other sites on the e. side of the road, near the n. end of these particular highlands, which are part of the Jebel 'Ajlûn, it seems justifiable to depart from the rigors of consistency, and describe several sites nearby on the w. side of the road, which are close to the small Arabic village of Samad (17). Râyā (18) is about 1.25 km. s. of Samad (17), being situated near the top of a hill, which is on a lower level than the hill of Samad. There is nothing there except the poor remains of a small, mediaeval Arabic building, probably a mosque. Numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, but there were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds. We saw several large cave-cisterns.

Meytwân (19)

About three quarters of a km. to the e.n.e., on the e. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥayâr is Meyṭwân (19). It is on top of a hill, about 1.5 km. s. e. of, and somewhat below the elevation of the hill of Ṣamad. The slopes and top of this hill are completely ploughed over, but numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds were found among the furrows. There were numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns on the slopes of the hill.

el-'Abd (20)

About three quarters of a km. to the n. e. of Meytwân (19), and 1.5 km. to

²⁶⁴ Pp. 106-107.

⁹⁸⁵ Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 265, n. 729c.

⁸⁶⁶ June 18, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 424.

the e. s. e. of Samad (17), is el-'Abd (20). Like Meytwân, it is on a completely ploughed-over hill, which is on a lower elevation than Samad. There are some hewn stones lying about on top of the hill, but otherwise no remains of buildings. There are some large cave-cisterns. Numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, and also some mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Sarâsī (23)

About 2 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of Râ'yā (18) and about 2.7 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Ṣamad (17) is Sarâsī (23).²⁶⁷ This is a sizable, completely ruined site, situated on a hill in an area largely covered with scrub oak, and once obviously very heavily wooded. Some of the hillsides have been cleared, and are tilled where the soil has not been washed away. Some Roman and Byzantine, but predominantly mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. It would seem most likely that the present ruins belong, for the most part, to the mediaeval Arabic period. Numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns were seen, and numerous cup-marks and basins in the rock.

el-Kefeir (24)

Less than a km. n. e. of Sarâsī (23) is el-Kefeir (24). It is much the same sort of site as Sarâsī, being situated on a ridge at a somewhat lower elevation. There is some fairly good, arable land between the two sites.

Samad (17)

The site upon which all of these places, Râ'yā, Meytwân, el-'Abd, Sarâsī, and el-Kefeir must have depended, and upon which, at least, they centered, was Ṣamad ²⁶⁸ (17). It is built on a rise, and represents a small village today, in the walls of whose houses many Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic stones are contained. They hail from the various datable preceding periods of occupation of the site. Tops and fragments of Roman sarcophagi are visible, on one of which we saw the sculpture of two entwined snakes and rosettes. There was report of a stone with a bust on it, which, however, we did not get to see, and which may be the same one as that reported on by Steuernagel.²⁶⁹ The present village has covered up all of the ancient site. About a km. n. n. w. of Ṣamad, and considerably below it, is a large stone circle, which seems to have dolmen-period affinities.

Rujm el-'Aleilīyât (290)

About 2.7 km. n. e. of Ṣamad is Rujm el-'Aleilīyât (290).²⁷⁰ It is about a km. e.-e. n. e. of Ḥabakā, and 2.25 km. w. s. w. of el-Ḥuṣn (1). It is near the

²⁶⁷ ZDPV 49, p. A. 425.

²⁶⁹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 426.

²⁶⁸ June 17, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 426.

very edge of the hill-country, which soon drops down to the plain beyond to the north. Most of the villages of the plain are visible in the distance. Rujm el-'Aleilīyât is a medium sized, completely destroyed, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic site, with sherds from those periods strewn on the ground. Numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns were visible. Fallen building-stones of flint and limestone littered the site, among which were very numerous mosaic squares.

Tell el-Ḥuṣn (1)

The imposing mound of Tell el-Husn (1),271 immediately to the n. of the large, predominantly Christian village of el-Husn, is about 2.25 km, e. n. e. of Rujm el-'Aleilīyât (290). It is the largest of a cluster of sites which lie elevated above the beginnings of the wudyan, which on the one hand turn n.e. to the Wâdī Shellâleh, and on the other hand turn n. w.-w. n. w. to the systems of branches of various wudyan, which ultimately join the Jordan. Rujm el-'Aleilīvât (290) lies in such a midway position. Şamad (17), and the cluster of sites around it, namely Râ'yā (18), Meytwân (19), el-'Abd (20), Sarâsī (23), and el-Kefeir (24), really lie between the beginnings of the Wâdī Ziqlab and the Wadī et Taiyibeh. We discussed them above, however, because of their geographical closeness to Dârīvā (21), Jârīyā (22), Muntâr Yarîn (287), Munțâr el-Khaldeh (288), Munțâr Zibdeh (289), and Zambûț Meleik (291), which lie above the small wudyân moving towards the Wâdī Shellâleh. In the case of Tell el-Husn (1), however, and its sites, as in the case of Irbid and its sites, we propose to discuss them in connection with the western watershed leading down to the Jordan Valley. Actually, Tell el-Husn (1) is less than a km. w. of the tiny, shallow Wadī el-'Ain, which in its continuation joins a branch of the Wâdī Shellâleh, and must therefore be considered to be at the beginning of the e. rather than the w. watershed.

Sâl (248)

About 6.5 km. e. n. e. of Irbid is Sâl (248),²⁷² the site of a modern village. In the center of the village is a high knoll, which is used today as a cemetery. The top of the knoll was once surrounded by an enclosing fortification-wall, parts of which are visible, particularly on the e. and n. sides. In the area it enclosed are the remnants of a large, very strong fortress built of large, rough limestone blocks. They remind one of the fortress remains at Mafraq.²⁷³ The fortress may very well belong to the Iron Age, but there are not even any

²⁷¹ June 15, 1942; Bulletin 86, p. 22; 92, p. 10; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 434-435; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 36, 430-431; cf. below, pp. 162-165.

²⁷² May 4, 1943; ZDPV 49, p. A. 471.

²⁷² Bulletin 86, pp. 14.15; above, pp. 1-2.

surface indications tending to bear this out, such as sherds belonging to Iron Age I-II. There were numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, and there must have been a Roman occupation too, to judge from pottery of that period. This site commands an excellent view,—both Irbid to the w. and er-Remthā to the e., e. g., being visible from it. Parts of the Wâdī Shellâleh can be seen from it.

Hakemā (41)

A little less than 4 km. n. w. of Sal (248) is Ḥakemā (41).274 It is the easternmost of a group of sites near it, which stand on the n. continuation of the watershed dividing the beginnings of the wudyân, which turn, respectively, e. to the Wâdī Shellâleh and w. to the Jordan. In the latter instance, the w. slope of this watershed marks the beginnings of the wudyân which join together to form the Wâdī el-'Arab, whose perennial stream flows into the Jordan. For the sake of convenience, we shall now, in connection with the sites in the Wâdī Shellâleh drainage area, discuss this cluster of sites, numbering 41-50, although a number of them, including sites 42-44, 47, 48, are very close to the beginnings of the above-mentioned branches of the Wâdī el-'Arab. Hakemā (41) is a small Arab village, with numerous Roman and Byzantine architectural pieces, such as lintels, architraves, basalt tomb doors, and headstones with Greek inscriptions built into the walls of the houses and the local mosque. It is likely that most of these pieces came from the great Roman and Byzantine site of Beit Râs (42), less than 3 km. away to the w.n. w., which will be discussed below.275 There may well, however, have been a Roman and Byzantine settlement on the site of Hakema itself, and these architectural pieces may be all that have survived into the present. Numerous cisterns furnish the water supply. The area in which Hakemā and the sites close to it, listed above, are located is a gently rolling, fairly good agricultural one.

Tell Kufat el-'Amâwī (46)

A little over a km. w.-w. s. w. of Ḥakemā (41) is Tell Kufat el-'Amâwī (46). It is a high, natural hill-top, now marked by a cadastral survey cairn. A small birkeh was anciently cut out of the rock on top of the hill, which commands a fine view of the countryside round about. Among other places, Irbid, Beit Râs, and Ḥakemā can be seen from it. The birkeh was originally a quarry, and may well stem back to Roman times. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, as well as several worked flints. Stones from this site may have been carried to the great Roman and Byzantine site of Beit Râs, which is about 1.75 km, w.n. w. of it.

²⁷⁴ July 13, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 477.

²⁷⁵ Cf. pp. 115-116,

Tell Birket es-Sökrân (Tell Birket el-Wakrân) (45)

Tell Birket es-Sökrân (45), called also Tell Birket el-Wakrân, is a rock-cut reservoir, measuring, according to Steuernagel 41.5 by 25.6 m.²⁷⁶ It is at the n. e. end of a completely ploughed-over hill, on which, in addition, are several cisterns and cave-cisterns. A small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found on the site.²⁷⁷ This site too is probably to be brought into connection with Beit Râs.

Tell ed-Deirī (49)

A km. to the n. n. w.-n. w. is Tell ed-Deirī (49). It is marked as a *tell* on various maps, and so designated locally, but is in no wise a real *tell*, being rather nothing but a low, completely ploughed-over hill, with some Roman and Byzantine sherds on it.

ed-Deirī (49 a)

A little over half a km. to the n.e. of 'Tell ed-Deirī is ed-Deirī (49 a). It is a completely destroyed site, which is used as a modern Arabic cemetery. Anciently, undoubtedly in Roman and Byzantine times especially, it was used as a quarry for nearby Beit Râs, which is visible from it. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found.

Beit Râs (42)

The great hill-site which serves as a towering landmark for this cluster of tiny sites, and which is visible for many kilometers round about, is Beit Râs (42), generally identified with Capitolias, one of the cities of the Decapolis.²⁷⁸ It is within clear view of the prominent site of Irbid, 4.5 km. to the s. s. w. of it. Beit Râs stands in the center of a fertile, rolling farm country. A modern village covers part of the site today. The flat-topped hill on which it stands is more particularly known as Tell el-Khuḍr, after St. George, whose welī, a place of pilgrimage for Christians and Moslems, is located on the w. slope of the hill. The top of the hill was surrounded by a thick wall of limestone core and basalt exterior. A great central thoroughfare, column bordered, led through the center of the Roman city, being a continuation of the Roman road which can be followed 3.5 km. to the e. n. e. to the village of Marû. Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds testify to the three main periods of occupation of the site, with the houses of the village built in part of stones or having stones inserted into their walls of all three periods. Numerous Roman

²⁷⁶ ZDPV 49, p. A. 480; Northern 'Ajlun, p. 166.

²⁷⁷ July 14, 1942.

 $^{^{878}}$ Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 167; ZDPV 49, p. A. 478; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 295.

and Byzantine stones of various kinds with Greek inscriptions were visible.²⁷⁹ The ruins of a church and of an ancient mosque were planned by Schumacher.²⁸⁰

Most remarkable are the provisions made originally for the supply of water for this Decapolis site. Lacking a perennial stream or springs, the builders of Capitolias had reservoirs and cisterns dug out, capable of supplying all the needs of the inhabitants of the town and of their flocks.²⁸¹

At the w. end of the platform-like top of the site of Beit Ras is a large birkeh, with which a smaller one, converted into a dwelling, is connected. On the s, side of the wall-enclosed hilltop, near its w, end, is another large birkeh. It is connected by an underground canal to a great underground reservoir, which for a total length of almost 250 m., pierces most of the w. slope of the hill and continues around the s. w. side of it, being a great underground tunnel. The walls of this tunnel-reservoir are thickly plastered. Apertures in the ground, on the slope of the hill, set approximately 10 m. apart, enable water to flow in and be drawn out of sections of this underground reservoir, which are formed by partition walls with openings in them. Water could be let into the s. w. reservoir from this tunnel-reservoir. In the rainy season, water still collects in this amazing tunnel.282 I know nothing like it in all of Transjordan and Palestine (Fig. 55). The shortcomings of nature were overcome by the dynamic builders of this site, who made the entire hill serve the purpose of providing water for the needs of the thriving community settled there. The run-off waters of the winter and spring rains must normally easily have filled all of the reservoirs mentioned, and numerous other smaller cisterns which must also have existed. In addition, as we have mentioned above, reservoirs were established on the outskirts of Beit Ras, in places such as Birket es-Sökrân (45).283

el-Meidân (43)

A little over half a km. s. e, of Beit Râs, across a small intervening valley, is the site of el-Meidân ²⁸⁴ (43), located on a hilltop marked by a cadastral survey *rujm*. On it are numerous cisterns, cave cisterns, tomb-shafts, and stone vaults which served as building supports. The hill, which has fairly gradual slopes, is completely ploughed over. Among the sherds gleaned from the surface were several which definitely went back to the first part of EB, and a few

²⁷⁹ Cf. McCown, Bulletin 64, p. 21, n. 1; 46, pp. 13-15.

²⁸⁰ Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 157. 159.

²⁸¹ Northern 'Ajlun, plan between pp. 154 and 155; 162-164; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 479-480.

²⁵² Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 163.

²⁸³ Northern 'Ajlun, p. 166.

²⁸⁴ ZDPV 49, p. A. 480; Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 167.179.



Fig. 55. Underground reservoir at Beit Rås (42).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

very worn fragments which might possibly have been Chalcolithic. In addition, a couple of sherds could definitely be assigned to MB I, and there were numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, including the base of a fine Cypro-Phoenician juglet.²⁸⁵ And we found one ribbed sherd, black glazed on both surfaces, which seems to be Hellenistic. There were also numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds. Fragments of basalt querns and bowls were lying about.

On the lower w. slope of the hill of el-Meidân, and near the bottom of the Beit Râs hill, there is incised into a smooth, somewhat sloping surface of the rock, a representation of what seems to be a church, or perhaps the face of a tomb. Several faint Greek characters are visible, the clearest being "XA." 286 This rock-drawing may have something to do with a tomb, a short distance to the s. of it, in which three sarcophagi are still in place.

el-Heneineh (44)

About 1.8 km. s. e.-s. s. e. of el-Meidân (43) is el-Ḥeneineh (44). It is a completely ploughed-over hill, with the rock protruding in various places where the earth has been washed away. Numerous caves and tombs were visible. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. In the Roman period, in particular, almost every hill anywhere in the vicinity of an important settlement was utilized for burial purposes, tombs being cut into the rock.

el-Jeneineh (47)

Immediately e. n. e. of Beit Râs, across a small divide, is the site of el-Jeneineh (47), on a completely ploughed-over hilltop. Numerous rock-cut tomb shafts were visible. Large numbers of sherds were found belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. Very many mosaic squares were lying about, most of them apparently of Byzantine type.

Tell el-Milh (48)

About a km. n. n. e. of Beit Râs is Tell el-Milh (48).²⁸⁷ It is another almost completely ploughed-over hill, with tombs, cisterns, and cave-cisterns on it. On the very top of the hill, is a particularly fine cistern, with rock-cut channels leading to it. Stone had once been quarried near there. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, including numerous mosaic squares.

Qemasôn (50)

Another small Roman and Byzantine site is Qemasôn, which is 3.5 km. n. n. e. of Ḥakemā (41). It is a completely destroyed site, on a rise in a culti-

²⁸⁵ Cf. ANNUAL XIV, p. 14.

²⁸⁶ McCown, Bulletin 64, p. 24.

²⁸⁷ July 14, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 480.

vated upland area, and overlooks such villages as el-'Âl to the n. e. and Marû to the s. Almost all of the stones of ancient buildings have been carried away for construction purposes in neighboring sites. There were the usual cavecisterns on the site. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found.

el-Kôm (51)

About 2.4 km. to the n. e.-n. n. e. of Qemasôn is el-Kôm (51).288 It overlooks the confluence of the Wadī 'Ain 'Abdeh on the n, and the Rôd el-Kôm on the s., which join together in the journey towards the Wadī Shellaleh. Below the site, on its n, side and to the w, of it, is the strong 'Ain 'Abdeh, which flows into the Wadī 'Ain 'Abdeh, and irrigates a fig-tree orchard. There is evidence that the long, low mound on top of the tongue of land bounded by the two wudyan was once the center of a considerable walled-in area. Wherever the protruding rocks do not interfere, the land of el-Kôm is ploughed up and planted to crops. The side of the hill leading down to the spring is terraced and cultivated also. There is little left of the original buildings of the various periods of occupation, except some worn and weather-beaten fallen stones. The sole criteria for determining the periods of occupation were the fragments of pottery gleaned from the surface, and the whole story may not have been secured that way. There was a small number of sherds with band-slip decoration belonging to EB I-II,289 some plain ledge-handles, one of them with nicks on the outer edge,200 and some inverted platter rims of a type, which, like the ledge-handles, belong to the first part of EB. There were also fragments of EB face-combed ware, and one EBI fragment with a raised, scalloped band on the outer surface.291 One fine, concave disc-base was found, which seemed to belong to MB II. In addition, there were numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, as well as some Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic ones. This site of el-Kôm, with a strong perennial spring to supply water, occupied a strategic position, dominating the tracks descending to the increasingly broken hill country along the Wadī Shellaleh and climbing to the fertile uplands, the beginnings of which are marked by the villages of Abū el-Lūqâs to the s. w.w. s. w. of it, and of el-'Al to the s. e. of it, and both within near sight of it.

Umm er-Rujmân (Umm er-Rujûm) (52)

About a km. w. of el-Kôm, on the n.w. side of the Wâdī 'Ain el-'Abdeh, on top of the rolling plateau which extends beyond it to the w., is the small,

 $^{^{288}}$ Cf. ZDPV 49, p. A. 488, where this site is called "chirbet el-'abdi," as distinguished from the "small ruin Kôm somewhat s. of it." I do not know just what is meant by this.

²⁸⁹ Bulletin 101, pp. 9-11.

²⁰⁰ Bulletin 101, p. 11.

²⁰¹ Bulletin 101, pp. 14-15.

completely destroyed Roman and Byzantine site of Umm er-Rujman or Umm er-Rujum ²⁹² (52), as it is variously called. It is characterized by the cisterns and cave-cisterns, that almost with certainty, one may say, even without detailed examination of a site, stamp it as belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Sherds of those periods were found.

Umm el-'Aqârib (54)

About 1.5 km. to the n. e. of el-Kôm (51) is Umm el-'Aqârib ²⁰³ (54), over-looking the Rôd el-Kôm from the w., and also the site of Tell es-Ṣnâm (55). It is a completely destroyed Roman and Byzantine site on top of a hill, which was largely ploughed over. Cisterns and shaft tombs were scattered about on the slopes and top of the hill. There was a columbarium on the top of the hill.

Tell eş-Şnâm (55)

Directly overlooking the s. w. end of a great bend in the Wâdī Shellâleh is Tell es-Snâm (55),294 which is 2.1 km. n. e. of el-Kôm (51), and about three quarters of a km. e. n. e. of Umm el-'Aqârib (54). Tell eş-Şnâm is the s. and largest part of a long, narrow, very steep hill, divided into two parts by a depression. The almost inaccessible hill is shaped something like a shallow sickle, with the inner curve on the e. side overlooking the great, somewhat similarly shaped bend in the Wadī Shellaleh. The s. part, which is known as Tell es-Snâm, in contradistinction to the n. part, which apparently is known as Khirbet Umm et-Tawaqah, 295 is oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e., with a blockhouse at either end. There are two small birkehs there, one near the center of the e. side, and the other w. of the s. blockhouse. There seems to be a cistern near the n. end. Near it, we saw a drum of a fluted column. The whole of the top part of the hill, included in Tell es-Snâm, seems originally to have been enclosed within an outer wall, which further strengthened its naturally exceedingly strong position. The tower at the s, end, which is almost completely destroyed, may have measured about 16 m, square, while that at the n. end, in a similar state, about 13 m. sq. The area occupied by Tell es-Snâm measures about 126 by 14 m. These are rough, paced off measurements.

Large numbers of Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, particularly Roman, and an unusually large amount of Roman type sigillata ware. The fortified part of the high, steep, narrow ridge, known now as Tell eṣ-Ṣnâm, served as a strong police-post, guarding the access to the vegetable and fruit gardens alongside of the Wâdī Shellâleh below, and of the tracks leading from the Wâdī Shellâleh to the highlands above and vice versa. Less than three

²⁹² ZDPV 49, p. A. 488.

²⁰⁴ ZDPV 49, p. A. 489.

²⁰³ July 15, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 491.

²⁰⁵ ZDPV 49, p. A. 489.

quarters of a km. to the w.-w. n. w., across the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣnâm on the w. side of this ridge, and about half way up the steep slope on the w. side of the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣnâm is the fine, small spring of 'Ain el-Meyâḥah, which irrigates a considerable grove of fig and pomegranate trees. We found no traces of antiquity there, although the spring must have been used in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Khirbet Umm 'Amr (53)

Less than 2 km, to the n.e. of Tell eṣ-Ṣnâm (53) is Khirbet Umm 'Amr (53), 296 a completely ruined site, at the very edge of the top of the descent leading down to the Wâdī Shellâleh from the w. There were several caves and cisterns on the site, and numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. We had reached Khirbet Umm 'Amr from the village of Kherjã, 2 km. to the w.s. w.-s. w. of it, riding through flat, fertile, cultivated uplands to the beginning of the descent to the Wâdī Shellâleh.

Barashtā (57)

Less than 2 km, w. n. w.-w. of Khirbet Umm 'Amr (53) is Barashtā (57).297 It overlooks the Wâdī el-Khereibeh to the n., which in its continuation becomes known as the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl, under which name it empties into the Wâdī Shellâleh. It commands the junction of the Rôd el-Ghazâl to the e. of it with the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl, Immediately below it to the n. n. e. is 'Ain Barashtā, and a short distance farther on to the n. e. is the fine 'Ain el-Ghazâl, from which the continuation of the Wadī Khreibeh derives its name, as does the Rôd, which meets the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl just at that point. The gentle slopes of the Wâdī Khreibeh are cultivated, as is its shallow bed. Beyond the 'Ain el-Ghazâl, the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl, with its lush green growths nurtured by abundant water, descends with increasing steepness and deepness till it meets the Wâdī Shellâleh. The abruptness of the descent creates a number of waterfalls. Barashtā itself is a completely ruined, ploughed-over site, at the edge of the plateau leading from Kherjā to the s. of it, with its slopes leading directly down to the Wâdī el-Khreibeh and the 'Ain el-Ghazâl below it. Numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns and rock-cuttings are visible. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Shejeret el-Fagîreh (56)

About 2 km. e. n. e. of Barashtā (57), overlooking the confluence of the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl with the Wâdī Shellâleh, is Shejeret el-Faqîreh ²⁹⁸ (56). The site, named because of a great butm tree, which had been cut down a year

296 ZDPV 49, p. A. 491. 297 ZDPV 49, pp. A. 523-524. 298 ZDPV 49, p. A. 525.

prior to our visit on July 15, 1942, was distinguished by a small mound, covered with piles of exceedingly worn building stones. It is situated on a tongue of land extending eastward from a high hill in back of it, and is inaccessible almost from all sides except from this approach of the hill behind it to the w. The top of this projection of land shelves downward somewhat, and was anciently terraced. There are, furthermore, traces of an outer wall which encompassed it. The village of Dheneibeh is visible above it about a km. to the n., on the e. side of the Wadī Shellaleh. The perennial streams in the Wâdī 'Ain el-Ghazâl below its s. side and in the Wâdī Shellâleh below its e. side furnished an unceasing source of water. Although it was overgrown with great masses of weeds at the time of our visit, we did succeed in finding large numbers of sherds. They belonged to EB and Iron Age I-II, emphasizing what may almost be formulated as a rule, that wherever there is a steady supply of water by a strategic and defensible location, there one may almost invariably expect to find an early BA site. There were EB I-II pieces of bandslip ware, a pierced ear-handle which could be assigned to the beginning of EB, and some pattern- and irregularly face-combed ware and "hole-mouth" rims of the EB period. There were also several clear Iron Age I-II sherds. There were also worked flints on the site, including one magnificent Palaeolithic hand-axe (cf. Pl. 114:1).

Tell Jamid (88)

A little less than 5 km. n. n. e.-n. e. of Shejeret el-Fagîreh (56) is the imposing and exceedingly important mound of Tell Jamid (88).299 It overlooks from the w. the junction of the Wadī Shellaleh with the Wadī 'Aweired ('Aweiret), which comes from the e., and which then makes a sharp n.e. bend, before turning n. n. w., then n. w., becoming known as the Sherî'at el-Menâdireh, which in its farther w. course becomes known as the Yarmûk. It also overlooks the junction of the Wadī el-Hereir (Ehreir),—which, like the Wadi 'Aweired comes from the e., and is less than half a km. n. of it,with the n. n. e. bend of the Wadī 'Aweired. The Sherî'at el-Menadireh or the Yarmûk, as it soon becomes known, is formed by the confluence of the three streams, the Wâdī Shellâleh, the Wâdī 'Aweired and the Wâdī el-Hereir. And Tell Jamid commands the confluence of all three streams, whose united waters form the beginnings of the Wadī Yarmûk under the name, as we have seen, of the Sherî'at el-Menâdireh. The Hejâz railway station below Tell Jamîd is known as the el-Magarin Station. Immediately opposite Tell Jamîd, to the e. n. e. of it, on the narrow ridge separating the Wâdī 'Aweired from the Wâdī el-Hereir to the n. of it, is the very large and important mound of Tell el-

⁹⁰⁰ August 23, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 526; 36, pp. 114-123.

Ehdeb or el-Mardāshîyeh. Inasmuch as it lies in what is now Syrian territory, we made no attempt to examine it, having promised the Transjordan authorities that we would under no circumstances cross the border. These two tulûl dominate the narrow valley between the Syrian and Transjordan plateaus that tower above them on either side, and served in various periods as centers of the strategic and commercial routes that led to the Jaulân on the one hand and northern 'Ajlûn on the other, 300

Tell Jamid is situated on a shelf of land, connected only by a small spur to the rising hill country behind it to the s. It is about 61 m. above the level of the valley in which the streams run, and there is a sharp descent from the small plain which abuts it on the w., and above which it towers, to the valley below in which Magarin station is located. On the e, side there is an abrupt descent to the Wadī Shellaleh. The top of the tell, which is oriented n. e. by s. w., slopes gently from s. to n. According to Schumacher, the tell, at its maximum length is some 380 m. long, and 230 m. wide at its n.e. end and 120 at its s, w, end.301 The top of the tell was enclosed by a massive wall, about 2.50 m. thick, made of rough, unhewn basalt blocks. Parts of this wall are still visible. The top of the tell, which is largely a natural hill, was completely ploughed over at the time of our visit, with a few basalt building blocks lying about. In addition to numerous sherds and some worked flints which we found on the top and slopes of the tell, there were numerous fragments of basalt querns and dishes. There are several ruined, comparatively new cisterns on the top, which probably hail back to Turkish times. To the Turkish period belong the ruins of several buildings below the e. side of the tell.

The very numerous sherds found belonged almost exclusively to EB I-II, with some of them perhaps belonging to EB III. They included fragments of band-slip ware, smooth ledge-handles, and numerous other examples of pottery belonging to the first part of EB ³⁰² (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 491-493, and Pl. 84:1-6.8.9.11;85). The only other sherds found on the site in comparatively small numbers were mediaeval Arabic ones.

The absence of sherds later than those of EB, with the exception of a few mediaeval Arabic ones, is puzzling, in view of the extraordinarily important strategic importance of Tell Jamîd. It may well be, however, that as in other instances, for example that of Tell Musţâḥ on the s. side of the beginning of the Wâdī Sha'ib, which is the name of the continuation of the Wâdī Nimrîn,

⁸⁰⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 526; 36, pp. 116-117.

⁸⁰¹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 527.

³⁰² ZDPV 36, Pl. 17.

and of Tell Bleibil on the n. side of the Wadī Sha'ib, immediately opposite and n. e. of Tell Mustah, the history of sedentary settlement broken off at one site was continued later on at another one close by. The historical settlement at Tell Mustâh belonged exclusively to the first part of EB, after which time the site was completely abandoned, never again to be reoccupied. Tell Bleibil, to be identified with the Biblical Beth-nimrah, on the n. side of the wadi, was occupied during Iron Age I-II, after which, for all practical purposes, it was completely and lastingly abandoned. The history of sedentary settlement was carried on then in the neighborhood at still a third site, which is about 1.75 km. w. s. w. of Tell Mustah, namely Tell Nimrin, on the n. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn. Tell Nimrîn was occupied from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic period. 303 I consider it likely, therefore, that the history of sedentary settlement at Tell Jamîd, which came to an end during the EB period, was continued later on at Tell el-Ehdeb or el-Mardashîveh, almost immediately opposite it to the e. n. e., on the ridge between the Wâdī 'Aweired and the Wâdī el-Hereir, and like Tell Jamîd, commanding the confluence of these two streams and the Wadī Shellaleh. I should certainly expect to find Iron Age I-II sherds on Tell Mardashîyeh, and possibly MB and LB sherds, aside from other sherds from the Roman period on.

⁸⁰⁸ Bulletin 91, pp. 11-12.

IV. WESTERN AREA: EAST TRIBUTARIES OF THE JORDAN

a. WÂDĪ YARMÛK

A whole series of wudyân rise in n. Transjordan and empty into the Yarmûk river, following a generally n. w.-w. n. w. course from the high, broken plateau above. An e.-w. watershed can be followed, its n. descent leading down gradually and then precipitously to the Wâdī Yarmûk, and its s. descent leading down somewhat less abruptly in its final stages to the Wâdī el-'Arab and its branches. If one were to draw a more or less straight line eastward and then southeastward from Umm Qeis (Gadara), — which line is actually roughly followed by a modern track leading eastward and then southeastward towards Beit Râs (42),—it would mark the top of the slopes leading down to the Wâdī Yarmûk on the one hand, and down to the Wâdī el-'Arab and its branches on the other. We shall proceed from e. to w. in the discussion of the sites in the Wâdī Yarmûk drainage area, to which the Wâdī Shômer and the Wâdī Shellâleh areas, as a matter of fact, also naturally belong, although we have considered them separately.

Qeweilbeh (58)

About 2.25 km. w. n. w. of Barashtā (57) is Qeweilbeh (58), which consists of two hill-top ruins, Tell 'Abil and Tell Umm el-'Amad, immediately s. of it, separated from each other by a tiny valley. They are a short distance w. of the Wâdī Qeweilbeh. In its further course, the Wâdī Qeweilbeh, which at this point is small and shallow, becomes gradually deeper and steeper, and under the name of the Wâdī Sijin empties into the Sherî'at el-Menâdireh or Wâdī Yarmûk. The two hills, once connected by a bridge, 304 are covered with masses of fallen building stones and foundation remains, which have already been described, particularly by Schumacher, 205 in considerable detail, and need not be described here. It need only be added that since Schumacher's visit, much of the ruins have been pillaged, and the site used as an easy quarry for building stones. That process has continued down to our day, so that much less exists of the theater on the n. e. slope of the s. hill, than Schumacher saw. 306

³⁰⁴ July 16, 1942.

so5 Schumacher, Abila of the Decapolis, pp. 21-47; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 536-538.

³⁰⁶ ZDPV 49, p. A. 537.

The ancient building stones are broken up or dragged away complete for building purposes in the nearby modern Arabic villages.

This site of Qeweilbeh with its hills of Tell 'Abil and Tell Umm el-'Amad, has been probably correctly identified by Schumacher *507* with Abila of the Decapolis. Large Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic settlements succeeded the Roman one there, and sherds of all three periods were found in plenty. The perennial stream of water flowing through the shallow, intensively cultivated Wâdī el-Qeweilbeh, fed by the strong spring of 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh, about a km. to the s. of this site, was the main reason for the location of this originally splendid city of the Decapolis.

Despite very careful search, we found no sherds on either Tell 'Abil or Tell Umm el-'Amad, which were earlier than Roman. Nevertheless, we are convinced that somewhere on this double-hill site, or in its vicinity, Iron Age and Bronze Age pottery will yet be found, just as they were found in the immediate vicinity of Roman Gerasa. 308 The massive Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic settlements built over Tell 'Abil and Tell Umm el-'Amad may have completely covered all earlier remains. It is possible therefore that a prolonged search or excavations will yet reveal the presence of Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery, just as such pottery was found at another of the cities of the Decapolis, namely Pella (Tabagat Fahil).300 We also examined the immediate vicinity of 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh very carefully, but failed to find any traces of settlements earlier than Roman, although they may yet be discovered there. After having examined hundreds of sites in Transjordan, the writer is constrained to repeat what he has already mentioned above, that it is almost axiomatic that wherever there is a fine spring such as 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh or a perennial stream of water fed by it such as flows through the Wadī el-Qeweilbeh, then somewhere in the vicinity must be a Bronze Age and an Iron Age site. 310 About half a km. n. e. and below Tell 'Abil, by the side of the Wadī el-Qeweilbeh, is another spring, called el-Hâjeh, which we did not get to see. This Decapolis city, and its successors, derived much of its support from the fertile agricultural area in which it is situated.

Khirbet Qâsim (92)

About a km. n. w. of Qeweilbeh (58) is Khirbet Qâsim 311 (92). It is a

 $^{^{\}rm so7}\,Abila$ of the Decapolis, pp. 45-47; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 234-235; Bulletin 91, p. 16.

³⁰⁸ Bulletin 75, pp. 22-29; cf. above, pp. 57-60.

³⁰⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 16, n. 38; cf. below, pp. 254-257.

³¹⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 16.

³¹¹ August 24, 1942.

small, completely destroyed Roman and Byzantine site, with Roman and Byzantine sherds on the surface, in addition to some prehistoric flints. Some cave-cisterns were visible. The site is on the edge of the fertile plateau, with the slopes leading down from it in serrated and wâdī-cut fashion to the Yarmûk below. It is e. s. e. of the modern Arabic village of Ḥartā.

Tell Jūwâr (91)

Less than 1.5 km. e. of the village of Ḥartā, and about three quarters of a km. n. e. of Kh. Qâsim (92) is Tell Jūwấr 312 (91), overlooking from the w. the Wâdī Sijin. It is on the rocky, flat top of a very steep hill, isolated on three sides by the Wâdī Jūwâr curving around it, and on the e. by the Wâdī Sijin, towards which the slopes below it fall precipitously. A small number of very worn sherds was found, several of which belong to Iron Age I-II, aside from some Roman and Byzantine sherds. There were no ruins left on top of the hill, which may have served as a small guard post in the periods to which the pottery belonged. There was one rock-cut cistern on the top of the hill.

Khirbet el-Khûjah (90)

About a km. n. e. of Hartā is Khirbet el-Khûjah (90). It is a completely destroyed Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic site. There were numerous sherds belonging to all three periods, but especially many belonging to the mediaeval Arabic period. It is situated near the n. edge of the rich plateau in which Hartā is situated, and which contains many fine and large olive-tree groves set among fertile wheat fields. Some foundation-ruins still exist. There are cave-cisterns and rock-cut cisterns on the site.

Balû'yah (61)

Less than a km. w. of the village of Ḥartā, on the w. side of the Wâdī Balû'yah, which passes below the w. side of Ḥartā, is the small, completely destroyed, Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Ārabic site of Balû'yah ³¹³ (61). Several cisterns and one large cave-cistern are visible. There are fine olive-tree groves beyond it to the w., such as are characteristic of the fertile uplands in which it is located.

Khirbet Treitâb (87)

About 1.25 km. s. e. of Ḥartā, and about 1.50 km. w.-w. n. w. of Qeweilbeh (58) on the e. side of the Wâdī Balû'yah is the small, completely destroyed and ploughed-over site of Khirbet Treiṭâb ³¹⁴ (87). Immediately below the

⁸¹² ZDPV 49, p. A. 522.

³¹³ July 17, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 541.

⁸¹⁴ Aug. 23, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 540.

site, on the way down to the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, is 'Ain Treiţâb. Only one ancient cistern was visible. From among the furrows, we picked up numerous Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, in addition to many mosaic squares belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Hôm (60)

About 2.8 km. w. n. w. of Ḥartā, and 1.25 km. s. w. of er-Rafîd is Ḥôm ³¹⁵ (60). It is a completely destroyed site, on a hill-top overlooking the confluence of the small Wâdī el-Qeneideh with the small Wâdī Ḥalet Ḥôm. There is little left of the site except some fallen building stones. Some cisterns are visible. The sherds were mainly mediaeval Arabic, but included also some Byzantine fragments.

Rujm el-'Ed'am (59)

About 1.5 km. to the s. of Ḥôm (60), and about a km. to the w.-w. n. w. of the small Arab village of Yublā is Rujm el-'Ed'am 316 (59). It is on a small, high hill, commanding the confluence of the Wâdī 'Ain Thôr on the e. with the Wâdī 'Ain Kefeir on the w., to form the Wâdī el-Qeneideh. Rujm el-'Ed'am forms a distinctive landmark. The sides of its hill, leading down to the wudyân below, were anciently terraced. Beyond the 'Ain Thôr on the e. side of the Wâdī 'Ain Thôr is a large and apparently sacred butm-tree, called Butm el-Qâfī, which is visible from the village of Yublā. There were remains of some ruined buildings on top of the hill, but it was impossible to determine anything about them in their present state. There are also some indications that the top of the hill may once have been enclosed within an outer wall. The former importance of the site may be judged by its long history of occupation. There was a small number of EB sherds, including "hole-mouth" rims, face-combed and pattern face-combed sherds, in addition to numerous Iron I-II sherds, and some Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Khirbet el-Biyâd (71)

About 2.5 km. s.-s. s. e. of Rujm 'Ed'am (59) and about 2 km. s. e. of the village of Kufr Sôm is Khirbet el-Biyâd ³¹⁷ (71). It is a very large site on the top and slopes of a high, completely ploughed-over hill, overlooking the strong 'Ain et-Trâb directly below it to the s., on the n. side of the small Wâdī 'Ain et-Trâb. The Wâdī 'Ain et-Trâb, after undergoing various changes in name and growing in size, becomes known as the Wâdī Melkā, which finally empties into the Wâdī Yarmûk. The n. slope of the hill, in particular, leads

⁸¹⁵ July 17, 1942.

⁸¹⁶ July 18, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 539.

⁸¹⁷ ZDPV 49, p. A. 543; July 19, 1942.

down in large, terraced stages to the spring below. The other slopes too are terraced, the northern one being the shortest. The highest stage of the cultivated hill is oriented e.-w., and may once have been surrounded by a wall, although there is doubt as to whether what we thought might possibly be parts of an outer wall, might not be separate terrace walls. We did not have time properly to plan the site. The long, gradual, terraced slopes, however, above the spring, formed a type of site chosen for settlement in earliest historical periods in Transjordan, as at Umm Beteimeh (302) and Sahrī 318 (303) and Tell Deir Sa'aneh-Mekhledîyeh.319 Aside from some fallen building-stones, there are no surface ruins whatsoever on the prominent site of Khirbet el-Biyad. There are, however, large numbers of sherds on the surface, on the terraced stages leading from the top of the hill to the bottom of it, near 'Ain et-Trâb. Small quantities of sherds belonging to the first part of EB, and others to the end of that period, several sherds which seem to belong to MB II, large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, and some Roman and Byzantine ones could be identified among the fragments found. Most of the Iron Age I-II sherds were found on the topmost stages of the hill.

Rujm el-Qâdī (70)

Across the Wâdī 'Ain et-Trâb, to the s.s.w. of Khirbet el-Biyâḍ (71), on top of a hill commanding the confluence of the Wâdī Umm Lijyā below its w. side with the Wâdī 'Ain et-Trâb below its n. side, is Rujm el-Qâdī (70). Below it, on the e. side of the Wâdī Umm el-Lijyā is the 'Ain Umm el-Lijyā, and below it on the n. side of the Wâdī 'Ain et-Trâb is the 'Ain et-Trâb. This site is much similar to Khirbet el-Biyâḍ, being completely ploughed over and marked by practically no ruins whatsoever, and with its slopes descending in broad, terraced stages to the springs at its base. Its earliest history duplicates that of Khirbet el-Biyâḍ. A considerable number of sherds was found there that also definitely belonged to the first part of EB, including plain, semi-elliptical ledge-handles, fragments of "band-slip" ware, sherds with indented bands of vertical and lunar decorations which could be no later than the very first part of EB, "hole-mouth" rims, and examples of pattern face-combing,—the last two types, to be sure, being able to belong also to the second half of EB. There were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Khirbet Zereiq (72)

About a km. to the w.n.w. of Khirbet el-Biyâd (71) is Khirbet Zereiq. It is a completely destroyed site on top of a hill, with much of it turned into

⁸¹⁸ See above, pp. 72-73.

a vineyard. Large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Tell Qurs (89)

Somewhat Ises than 3 km. n. n. e. of Khirbet el-Khûjah (90) is the jagged, towering, completely isolated hill of Tell Qurs 320 (89), well down the steep slopes descending from the plateau above to the Yarmûk below. It overlooks from the e. the bottom of an extreme northwesternly turned "u" bend of the Yarmûk. To the e. of Tell Qurs is the chasm of the Wâdī Sijin, which joins the Yarmûk about half a km, e, of where the Yarmûk begins its extreme bend backward to the s. and s. e. to form the e. side of the above mentioned deep "u" bend. The top of this extremely steep and isolated hill was swept completely bare of ruins, with the exception of a few hewn stones at the s. w. corner. At the time of our visit, it was so overgrown with weeds as to make it most difficult to find sherds. However, after most careful and prolonged search, quantities of clearly datable sherds were found. Several dozen of them definitely belonged to the first part of Early Bronze, and fit into the same picture as the early pottery of Tell Jamid (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 492, and Pl. 84: 7.10). In addition there were numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, particularly of Iron Age II, aside from numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Tell Qurs overlooks Shejerah station, about 2 km. away to the w. n. w.-n. w. on the n. side of the Wâdī Yarmûk. The top of Tell Qurs could never have been occupied by more than a comparatively small group of soldiers or travellers. A small company there could effectively control the track leading down to the Wâdī Yarmûk near the junction of the Wâdī Sijin with it.

el-Habîs (62)

About 2 km. w. s. w. of Tell Qurs is el-Ḥabîs ³²¹ (62), consisting of a number of cave-dwellings and niches hewn into almost perpendicular cliff walls of soft limestone, and hailing back to the Byzantine period. One large niche has a Byzantine cross cut into it. We made no attempt to visit these cave-dwellings, merely looking down upon them from the edge of the plateau overlooking the precipitous descents and sometimes sheer cliffs below leading down to the Wâdī Yarmûk, as we rode along the rude path leading w. n. w. to the small village of 'Aqrabah. We were told furthermore that it was possible to get to the cave-dwellings and niches now only by extreme mountain-climbing methods. The sheer cliff-wall containing the prominent caves and niches we saw, was on the e. side of the small but deep Wâdī el-Ḥabîs, which plunges almost in a

³²⁰ August 23, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 531.

³²¹ July 17, 1942; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 532-533; 40, 1917, pp. 165-168.

straight line northward down to the Yarmûk, joining it at a point opposite the station of Shejerah.

Tell Hilyah (63)

About a km. to the w. n. w.-n. w. of el-Habîs is Tell or Khirbet Hilyah 322 (63). It is about 1.5 km. n. n. e. of er-Rafîd. Tell Hilyah is a high natural pinnacle on a ridge overlooking the n. side of the small Wâdī Ḥilyah, which in its beginnings parallels the Wâdī el-Ḥabîs from s. to n., before turning w. to join the Wâdī 'Aqrabah, which, under various other name changes, finally finds its way into the Wâdī Yarmûk above the Wâdī Khâled station. The slopes below this ridge fall abruptly down towards the Wadī Yarmûk. The ridge is below the s, edge of the plateau-lands behind it and the very steep descent northward to the Wâdī Yarmûk. It commands a splendid view of much of the Wâdī Yarmûk. The top of the pinnacle at the w. end of the ridge was apparently once fortified, and on it are the remains of a small guard-tower and perhaps of several other small buildings. Little is left of them, except some heaps of hewn limestone blocks. The opposite end of the ridge seems also to have had some kind of a building on it. Small quantities of Roman and Byzantine pottery were found, as they were also on the edge of the plateau above it to the s. On the slopes leading down from the plateau above, and on the sides of Tell Hilyah are rock-cut tombs. The top of the ridge of Tell Hilyah is used today as a modern burial place.

Tell Abū el-'Anâtir (64)

Well down the steep slopes leading to the Wâdī Yarmûk, but still impressively high above it, and 2.5 km. n. w. of the small village of 'Aqrabah, is Tell Abū el-'Anâṭir. In a straight line, it would still be about half a km. to the nearest part of the Wâdī Yarmûk,—but a half km. representing a very steep descent to the bottom of the wâdī and the perennial stream flowing in it. It commands a splendid view of a large section of the Wâdī Yarmûk, overlooking a deep, northeasterly, inverted "u" bend of the wâdī (Fig. 56). Tell Abū el-'Anâṭir, however, is a completely natural hill, with, so far as we could establish, no remains whatsoever of any historical occupation on it. Most careful search yielded one Byzantine sherd, and there were no ruins or building stones of any kind on top of this well placed hill. Prominently marked on the 1:50,000 Irbid sheet of the Transjordan map published by the Survey of Palestine, 1932, it yielded no historical data whatsoever.

Sneibeh (65)

About 2 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of 'Aqrabah, 323 on the s. side of the Wadī 'Aqrabah,

** ZDPV 49, p. A. 532.

⁸²³ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 541-542.



Fig. 56. The Wâdī Yarmûk below Tell Abû el-'Anâțir (64). $({\rm Phot.\ Nelson\ Glueck}).$

on the steep slope leading down to it, is the site of Sneibeh (65).824 It is situated on a small, flat shelf or tongue of land projecting from the slope behind it to the n. w., with the land on all sides except the s. e. falling away below it to continue the descent down to the small Wadi 'Aqrabah. It is a completely destroyed small Roman and Byzantine site, with some caves and cave-cisterns on it, and some rock-cut shaft tombs. Small numbers of Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. Near the top of the increasingly gradual slope above it, about 1.5 km, to the s. s. e., is the spring of Halet el-'Ain, with, however, no traces of an antiquity site near it, so far as we could ascertain. About three quarters of a km. to the s. s. w.-s. w. of it is the modern village of Sahem (67), which, roughly, is about half way between the Wadī 'Aqrabah and the Wâdī Melkā to the s. of it, both of which, pursuing a generally n. w. direction, ultimately empty, after joining or being joined by other wudyan and undergoing name-changes, into the Wadī Yarmûk. On the slopes leading down to the Wâdī 'Agrabah, as is the case with slopes of other wudyân leading down to the Wâdī Yarmûk, are considerable stands of scrub oak and other trees.

Sahem (67)

About 2.25 km, s. s. w. of Sneibeh (65) is the modern Arabic village of Sahem 325 (67), overlooking the Wadī Sahem to the e., which subsequently becomes known as the Wâdī el-Ḥaşûn. It is an attractive village, situated on a hilltop 450 m, above sea-level. Large olive-tree groves and considerable stands of oaks in its immediate environs add to its attractiveness. At the bottom of the n. end of the village just above the wadi is a very fine, enclosed spring, which supplies the water needs of the entire village and irrigates the gardens in the shallow wâdī. Goatskins are largely used in this village as water-containers. Crowning the highest point of the village, and overlooking 'Ain Sahem below it to the n. e. are the remains of an ancient, square (?) fortress, which in sharp contrast to the limestone buildings of the modern village was constructed of large flint blocks (Fig. 57.58). These flint blocks, being from 1 to 2 m. long, about 40 cm. thick, and about 50-60 cm. wide, were laid in fairly even rows, with the corners of the structure apparently bound together by headers and stretchers. This ancient fortress is much destroyed. Such of its walls as still stand seem to show repairs, and are gradually being built over or incorporated into new buildings or are being torn down. Had its stones been of more easily worked limestone than of the tough flint they are, it is most likely that not a single trace of this structure would be left. No sherds at all were found in this village, which would help

²⁸⁴ July 18, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 542.

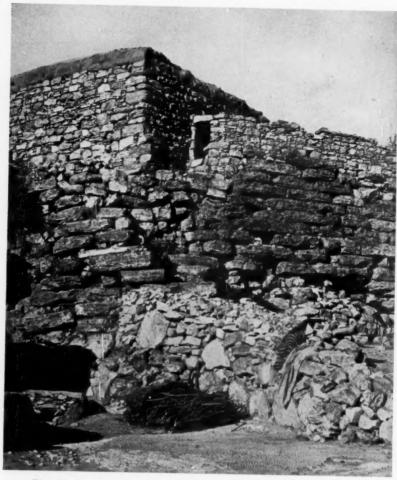


Fig. 57. Remains of fortress of flint block construction at Sahem (67).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

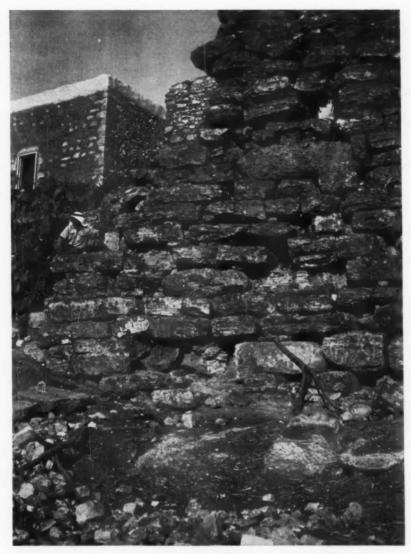


Fig. 58. Remains of fortress of flint block construction at Sahem (67). (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

date a period in which this flint fortress might have been constructed. A ruined, Byzantine (?) mosaic floor in front of the n.w. corner of this structure obviously belongs to a much later period. The manner of construction, size of stones, and general appearance of this flint structure remind one of the Iron Age I-II square and rectangular flint structures sometimes found with the rujûm malfûf, and of the great Iron Age I-II fortifications of the type of Khirbet Muḍmâr, which exist in South Gilead and in 'Ammôn. 326

There may well have been an early Bronze Age settlement also on or near this site, although no present traces of it exist. That Sahem was occupied thereafter from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times seems to be certain. It may be noted here, that many villages in Transjordan, which occupy sites as excellently located as that of Sahem by a strong, perennial spring, must have been occupied in Bronze Age or Iron Age times or both, although the Roman and later occupations are often the only ones that can be attested to from surface remains. Occasionally, a chance excavation at a place such as er-Remthā, 327 may reveal traces of such an earlier settlement, although the surface-remains indicate nothing earlier than Roman.

Khirbet el-Bâbā (66.)

Less than half a km. to the n. e. of Saḥem (67), on the e. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥaṣûn, is Khirbet el-Bâbā ³²⁸ (66). It is a completely destroyed Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic site, overlooking the confluence of the Wâdī el-Ḥaṣûn and the Wâdī Ḥalet el-ʿAin. Numerous cisterns and caves were visible. Building-stones were scattered about on the surface, which was so overgrown, however, with scrub growth of trees and bushes, that it would be hard to determine the extent of the site without a thoroughgoing survey.

Kufr Lâhyā (69)

About 1.25 km. to the w.n.w.-n.w. of Saḥem (67) is Kufr Lâhyā ³²⁹ (69). It is a small, completely destroyed site, which seems to have been occupied from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times. Numerous cisterns were visible. Below the site, to the e., is 'Ain Kufr Lâhyā. It is an enclosed, perennial spring, which may once have flowed more strongly than at the time of our visit. We found no remains earlier than Roman, despite the presence of this spring, which had probably been first walled in in Roman times. There were considerable stands of oak and olive trees around this site.

⁸²⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 167-170, 192-194, 197-198.

⁸²⁷ Bulletin 92, pp. 10-16; cf. above, pp. 96-98.

³²⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 543.

³²⁹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 542.

Khirbet el-Husn (68)

About 6 km. w.-w. n. w. of Sahem (67) is Khirbet el-Husn 330 (68), on top of a large, isolated hill, commanding a view of a considerable section of the Wâdī Yarmûk as far as el-Hammeh. 331 It is about 4.5 km. n. w.-w. n. w. of the Arab village of Melka. Only on its s. side is it connected by a small, cultivated dip with the hillsides rising steeply above it. Below its other sides, the slopes plunge steeply down towards the Wadī Yarmûk, approximately 350 m. below. It dominates the confluence of the Wâdī Melkā with the Wâdī Shaq el-Bârid, which plunges then into the Wâdī Yarmûk. The hilltop was once fortified with towers guarding its n.e. and s.w. ends, and there is the possibility that the entire top was enclosed within an outer wall. On the three stages or levels of the hilltop, descending from the n.e. to the s. w. and w. sides, are remains of ruins, with one cistern visible, and others perhaps hidden under the fallen building stones. Not far below, of course, is the perennial stream of the Wâdī Yarmûk, forming an inexhaustible supply of water for the former occupants of this site and for their flocks. Large numbers of Roman sherds, including unusually large quantities of sigillata fragments, were found, in addition to some Byzantine sherds. This site served both as a guard post and as a small center of settlement. It helps emphasize what became clear in the course of the archaeological survey of Transjordan, that even inhospitable slopes and marginal lands were occupied during the heavily settled Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine periods to accommodate those who could not find a foothold in the more fertile and intensively occupied plateau and valley lands.332

Tell el-Hammeh (324)

Below Khirbet el-Ḥuṣn (68), about 5.25 km. to the w.s.w.-s.w., directly in the Yarmûk valley, overlooking from the n. a semi-circular bend of the Wâdī Yarmûk below it, is Tell el-Ḥammeh ^{\$23} (324). It is at the n.w. end of the rich bottom land, where, because of the famous hot-springs to the e.s.e. below the *tell*, the Roman town of Amatha, known as Ḥammath Gader in the Talmud, with its elaborate bath-houses and amusement facilities, was located. In the Byzantine occupation which succeeded the Roman there, a synagogue was built on top of Tell el-Ḥammeh. Its foundations and mosaic floor have been uncovered by Sukenik. ^{\$24} The amenities of el-Ḥammeh were enjoyed

³⁸⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 546; Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 115-116.

⁸³¹ Bulletin 97, p. 19; PPEB, p. 62; AJA 39, 1935, pp. 321-330.

⁸⁸² OSJ, p. 173; RJ, p. 128.

⁸³⁸ Nov. 22, 1932.

⁸³⁴ Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh, pp. 1-81; JPOS 1935, p. 109.

particularly by the inhabitants of the great Roman city of Gadara (Umm Qeis) (325),³²⁵ which overlooked it from the edge of the heights above on the s. side of the Wâdī Yarmûk (Fig. 59).

Long before the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic occupations of el-Ḥammeh, the site was settled. On Tell el-Ḥammeh, in soundings conducted there by the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, in 1932, large numbers of sherds were found going back to the first part of EB, with many of them belonging to the very beginning of EB, as has been correctly pointed out by Wright ³²⁶ in correcting my original dating of the bulk of the pottery found there to EB II. ³³⁷ There were large quantities of EB I "band-slip" ware there. ³³⁸

One type of pottery not found at Tell el-Hammeh is that of the so-called Khirbet Kerak ware which can be assigned to EB III. 339 This type occurs commonly at Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yerah) 9 km, away to the w. n. w.-n. w. on the peninsula formed by the emergence of the Jordan from the s. w. end of the Lake of Galilee. 240 That this type of pottery was not found at Tell el-Hammeh seems all the more of an accident, in view of the fact, as we shall see below, that it was found at el-Fakhât (98), but a short distance s. of Umm Qeis (325), which is on the edge of the plateau, on the s, side of the Wâdī Yarmûk, directly overlooking el-Hammeh. It would seem likely, therefore, that further investigation will reveal that the EB occupation of Tell el-Hammeh extended from EBI to EBIII. While some face-combed sherds were found at Tell el-Hammeh, which correspond to EBIV sherds from Tell Beit Mirsim,²⁴¹ they are of types which could easily and probably do belong to the earlier phases of EB. In view of the fact that neither at Tell el-Hammeh nor at Khirbet Kerak were any other sherds found which could be definitely assigned to EBIV, it would seem likely that these few sherds also belong to

as This great city of the Decapolis, dominating a fairly flat-topped watershed, with the Wâdl Yarmûk below it to the n., and the Wâdl el-'Arab below it to the s., has been described at length by others and need not be dealt with here. A comparatively narrow ridge extends e. and then s. e. from it for many miles, forming a natural roadway to the Haurân; cf. Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlûn, pp. 46-80; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 504-509; RJ, pp. 42. 48.

⁸⁸⁶ PPEB, p. 62; Bulletin 97, p. 19.

⁸³⁷ AJA 1935, p. 330.

³³⁵ AJA 1935, p. 26, and Fig. 5: 1-7 from Tell el-Ḥammeh, and Fig. 5: 8-18 from Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yerah).

^{sao} Cf. Albright, Bu'letin 93, p. 26; below, pp. 106. 107; AJA 1935, 39, p. 329, Fig. 6: 1, 2, 17; Yigael Sukenik, Bulletin 106, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁴⁰ Albright, Annual VI, pp. 27-31; AJA 1935, 39, p. 330, n. 1.

⁸⁴¹ AJA 1935, 39, p. 328.

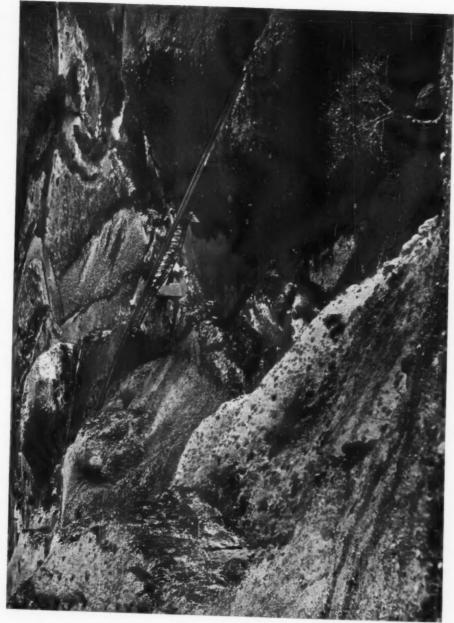


Fig. 59. Tell el-Hammeh (190) in Wadī Yarmûk. The tell is visible in upper left of photograph,

(Phot. S. J. Schweig).

the earlier phases of EB. This is in harmony with the fact that rarely at the sites in northernmost Transfordan and in the northern part of the Jordan Valley were sherds of EBIV discovered. It is well to correct a hasty statement of mine,342 that we found some early MB sherds at Tell el-Hammeh. Upon working over the sherds carefully, as is evident in the full treatment of them in a subsequent article,343 I found no sherds which could be assigned to any period after EB until the Roman period was reached. This conforms with Albright's finds on the site,244 but not with Sukenik's, who reports having picked up some sherds belonging to the beginning of MB.345 That would, if borne out, correspond to finds elsewhere in northern Transjordan and in the Jordan Valley, where there was a break, or a very definite depression or set-back in the history of sedentary settlement certainly between the end of EB III and the beginning of MB I.346 The EB history of Tell el-Hammeh is apparently the same as that of Tell Jamid (88), where, too (the question aside as to whether or not there are any MBI sherds at Tell el-Hammeh), following a heavy occupation in the first part of EB, there was no subsequent settlement, apparently, until the Roman period was reached.347

Khirbet ed-Duweir (323)

Commanding the point where the Yarmûk River emerges from its canyon, to flow s. w. into the Jordan River through its valley which merges with that of the Jordan Valley, is Khirbet ed-Duweir (323).³⁴⁸ It directly overlooks from the n. and w. the Yarmûk River. It is 3.25 km. w. of Tell el-Hammeh (324), and is 4.25 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Samakh. It is marked by a small mound, which was the center of a larger settlement, and shows traces of having been surrounded by a thick basalt wall, as indeed the entire settlement may have been.³⁴⁹ The mound proper, situated on a basalt bench, overlooking the descent to the Yarmûk, must have been marked by the acropolis of the site. No building remains are visible, however, on the surface there. Yeivin and Maisler, who visited the site on April 10, 1943, report having found traces of a late Roman staircase on the s. e. slope, leading down to the Yarmûk.³⁵⁰ Our own visit, because of circumstances at the time, was a very brief one indeed, and

³⁴² Bulletin 49, pp. 22-23.

³⁴³ AJA 1935, p. 39, pp. 321-330.

³⁴⁴ Bulletin 35, p. 12.

³⁴⁵ The Ancient Synagogue of el-Hammeh, p. 18.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Bulletin 100, p. 8.

³⁴⁷ Cf. above, pp. 122-124.

³⁴⁸ June 9, 1943; cf. Albright, Bulletin 19, p. 17; ANNUAL VI, p. 31.

³⁴⁰ BJPES X: 4, July-October 1943, pp. 99-100.

⁸⁵⁰ BJPES X: 4, p. 100.

we did little but look hastily for sherds. We consider that visit a most inadequate one, even so far as the examination of the site for sherds is concerned. We found considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, and one sherd which could be assigned to MB I. Maisler and Yeivin report finding MB I sherds. The LB sherds mentioned in his report would undoubtedly now be assigned by him to Iron Age I, had he an opportunity to re-examine them. We also found some black glazed Hellenistic sherds, in addition to Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic ones.

Abū Naml (329)

About 1.5 km. w.-w. s. w. of Khirbet ed-Duweir (323), is Abū Naml, 358 one of a number of important sites which Maisler and Yeivin and their colleagues examined in the triangle between the Yarmûk and Jordan Rivers and the s. end of the Lake of Galilee.354 At Abū Naml are located the fishponds belonging to the colony of Sha'ar hag-Golân to the n. w. of them. While digging the ponds, the colonists apparently came across the remains of an MB I settlement, close to the n. bank of the Yarmûk River. Sherds alone testified to its existence. Maisler and Yeivin assign them to EBIV-MBI. 355 I would rather assign them, and all the sherds which they examined in this triangle and assigned to this transitional period, to a clear-cut MBI period. The so-called EBIV-MBI sherds from their finds, which I was enabled to see, and which they assigned to EBIV-MBI, definitely belong solely to MB I,356 with no traces whatsoever of EB IV, or of a transition from EB IV. Otherwise, the results of their finds in this region coincide, as they point out, completely with my own.357 Their finds indicated a general absence of surface finds of MB II and LB and of the latter part of EB.

Station IV (328)

Immediately below Abū Naml, at what on the map by Maisler and Yeivin and Stekelis is called Station IV, on the n. bank of the Yarmûk, Stekelis found flints and fragments of handmade pottery, including one with a band of red paint and a band of herringbone incisions, 358 which we would assign to Early Chalcolithic, and examples of which we found at Tell es-Saʿīd̂yeh. 259

⁸⁵¹ BJPES X: 4, p. 100

²⁵² Bulletin 19, p. 17; ANNUAL VI, p. 31.

⁸⁵³ BJPES X: 4, p. 100.

⁸⁵⁴ BJPES X: 4, pp. 98-104; XI, pp. 17-21.

⁸⁵⁵ BJPES X: 4, p. 100.

⁸⁸⁶ Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16.

³⁵⁷ BJPES X: 4, pp. 101-102.

⁸⁸⁸ BJPES X: 4, p. 102.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Pottery Notes, p. 484.

b. WÂDĪ el-'ARAB

el-Fakhât (98)

About 1.5 km. s. w. of Umm Qeis (325) and less than half a km. s. w. of 'Ain Umm Qeis, which is a little over a km. s. w. and below Umm Qeis, is el-Fakhât (98).360 It is situated on top of an almost completely isolated hill on the e. side of the Rôd 'Ain Umm Qeis, which, commencing on the slope below the ridge on which Umm Qeis is situated, cuts its way on a n.-s. line to the w. of it, down to the Wâdī el-'Arab. The high hill of el-Fakhât is connected only by a broad and gently dipping saddle to the hill to the w. of it. The steepest side of the hill is the e. side, which is cultivated, as are the other slopes and the flattish top of the hill. The latter comprises an area of approximately fifty meters square. On the n. side of the hill of el-Fakhât is a small spring, called 'Ain Fakhât, in the tiny Rôd 'Ain Fakhât, which, running w.-e. meets the n. s. Rôd 'Ain Umm Qeis. 'Ain Fakhât is near the w. end of its small wâdi, rising at a point above the top of the hill of el-Fakhât, which overlooks the confluence of the tiny Rôd 'Ain Fakhât with the small Rôd 'Ain Umm Qeis. The most important spring in this area, however, is the nearby 'Ain Umm Qeis. It is less than half a kilometer to the n.e. of el-Fakhât, which commands the approaches to it, and whose inhabitants undoubtedly once obtained their water from it, as do the inhabitants of Umm Qeis above it to this very day. For the latter, it is a most important additional water supply besides the water obtained from the cisterns on the ridge on which Umm Qeis proper is located. At the time of our visit on August 25, 1942, British army engineers were deepening the spring of 'Ain Umm Qeis and enclosing it in a strong spring-house. The hill of el-Fakhât guarded the crossroads which led down to the Wâdī el-'Arab and up to the site of Umm Qeis via 'Ain Umm Qeis, and then past Umm Qeis down to the Wâdī Yarmûk.

The sides and top of the hill of el-Fakhât were swept practically clean of ruins, with only a few basalt blocks remaining to testify to the presence there once of buildings. Numerous sherds were found, however, which revealed the various periods of occupation on the site. There seems to have been a considerable occupation extending from EBI through EBIII, with no sherds discovered which could definitely be assigned to EBIV. 301 There were numerous fragments of EBI-II "band-slip" ware, and a small number of pieces, including one quite large fragment, of the so-called Khirbet Kerak (Beth-

⁸⁶⁰ August 25, 1942; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 499, 501, 505, 508.

ae1 Cf. above, p. 138.

Yerah) ware, which can be assigned to EB III.³⁶² The discovery of fragments of this type of ware, covered with a highly burnished black to brown slip, which are so common at Khirbet Kerak on the s. shore of the Lake of Galilee, makes us feel all the more strongly that our failure to find this type of ware at Tell el-Ḥammeh (324) was completely fortuitous, and that further search or excavation there would reveal its presence.

In addition to the EB I-III sherds, there were a few Iron Age I-II fragments of pottery, and a small number of Roman and Byzantine ones (see *Pottery Notes*, pp. 426-428).

Khaneizîr (99)

About a kilometer e. s. e. of el-Fakhât (98), and about three quarters of a kilometer s. e.-e. s. e. of Umm Qeis (325), on the w. side of the beginning of the tiny Wâdī Khaneizîr, which, after being joined by several other small wudyân, descends s. s. w. to join the Wâdī el-'Arab, is the large, completely ruined Roman-Byzantine site of Khaneizîr 363 (99). On the e. side of this site, and slightly above it is the small spring of 'Ain Khaneizîr, which may well have been considerably larger in former days, when less of the soil above it had been eroded away, which once sponged up larger supplies of water than is presently the case. The ruins are strewn over a considerable hillside area, which descends in gentle stages for some distance below the spring. Numerous building stones, and fragments of mosaic floors abounded, aside from quantities of Roman and Byzantine sherds. Little else was visible above surface, the area occupied originally by the site being indeed completely ploughed over at the time of our visit. Below this site, the land begins to descend abruptly to the Wâdī el-'Arab, being cut up by numerous small wudyân. This site commands a good view to the w. of much of the length of the Wadī el-'Arab, with Tell Zer'ah (100) being visible below it to the s. s. w.-s. w., directly overlooking the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Arab.

Qabû (97)

A little less than 2.5 km. e. n. e. of Khaneizîr (99) is the large ruined site of Qabû (97), 364 situated on a conspicuously high point, on the s. side of the w.-e. road which runs along the top of the water-shed separating the Wâdī el-'Arab from the Wâdī Yarmûk. This site, situated above the spring of 'Ain el-'Asal, commands the approaches to the Wâdī 'Ain el-'Asal, which plunges

²⁰² Cf. above, p. 138, n. 339; Yigael Sukenik, On the Technique of Khirbet Kerak Ware, in Bulletin 106, pp. 9-10; Albright, Bulletin 106, p. 17.

²⁶⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 501.

³⁶⁴ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 500-501.

down southwestward into the Wadī el-'Arab. Little is left of the once extensive site, whose ruins stretch now among stands of scrub oak which have grown up among and over them. The entire, rocky, hilly countryside, which is partly cultivated, is dotted with stands of scrub oak. The village of Umm Qeis is visible about 2.5 km. to the w. n. w. of Qabû. There is a splendid view over much of the surrounding countryside. The remaining foundations of Qabû are being rapidly demolished to furnish building stones for structures in Umm Qeis and other neighboring villages. At the time of our visit on August 25, 1942, Arabs were uncovering foundation walls, and removing fine, well cut, rectangular building blocks, mostly limestone but some basalt, and cutting them into smaller ones, both because they could more easily be transported that way, and because the structures for which they were intended required smaller stones than the ones generally used in the Roman and Byzantine periods to which the site of Qabû originally belonged. This process of quarrying building stones out of ancient ruins such as those of Qabû is going on as rapidly as the population of Transjordan is increasing and new villages and new houses are being built. It is obviously much easier to cut up a well-hewn Roman building-stone than to cut out a rough block from a quarry and then chisel it into shape. The archaeological survey of Transjordan, with which the series of volumes of which this is the fourth concerns itself, was carried out fortunately during a period before the requirements of new and expanded settlement in Transjordan had begun to reach out to, and in many instances make inroads on ancient sites to such an extent as to make the survey impossible. To the degree that modern sedentary settlement in Transjordan increases, will it become increasingly difficult to preserve the remains of preceding sedentary settlements. Not even an archaeologist, however, wants to preserve an entire country as a museum domain, nor would it be possible to arrest the rise of new civilizations, any more than it has been possible in the past to arrest the fall of old ones. No matter how much Transjordan, and to a larger degree Palestine, are transformed by modern civilization, there will, nevertheless, be a sufficiency of ancient sites and remains available to keep all the competent students endlessly occupied uncovering and interpreting the past. Many generations of future archaeologists and historians will probably in their turn be similarly occupied as well with the remains of our present.

There are traces of a wall once having encompassed the entire site, with some foundation remains of a building having crowned the highest point of the site, and indications of the remains of other large buildings near it. In addition to the water supply obtained from the nearby spring of 'Ain el-'Asal, numerous cisterns had been cut into the rock to store up the rain water. Like

so many abandoned ancient sites, this one too is partly employed as a modern burial ground. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found on the site.

Sifîn (96)

About 1.5 km. s. e. of Qabû (97) is the small, completely destroyed site of Sifîn 305 (96), overlooking the small Wâdī 'Ain Sifîn, and directly above the spring of 'Ain Sifîn. The site of Qabû is visible from it to the n. w., with numerous ancient quarries of Roman and Byzantine times, as well as burial shafts of Roman origin visible en route between the two sites. Several cisterns were found among the scattered stones representing all that is left on the surface of the original buildings, but it is likely that other cisterns are buried under debris. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, as well as numerous stones from mosaic floors.

Ed'ân (95)

About 2 km. e.-e. s. e. of Sifîn (96) is Ed'ân (95), located on a large, almost completely isolated hill, in the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ -cut hill country marking the descent to the Wâdī el-'Arab. Throughout this entire region, one stumbles constantly across Roman quarries and shaft-tombs. The small Wâdī Ed'ân encircles the hill on almost all sides except the n. side, where the hill is connected by a saddle of land to the hillside beyond it. The Wâdī Ed'ân then turns almost due southward. Directly below this hill, to the n. w., is the excellent spring of 'Ain Ed'ân on the w. side of the Wâdī Ed'ân. It irrigates a garden, in which some pomegranate trees were growing at the time of our visit. The slopes and part of the top of the hill were being cultivated at the time of our visit.

The top of the hill of Ed'ân is strewn with fallen building blocks, among which numerous Roman, Byzantine, and particularly mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, in addition to very many mosaic squares. This would seem to have been an ideal site for a pre-Roman settlement, but the masses of Roman to mediaeval Arabic pottery fragments plus the building and rebuilding on top of the hill from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times seem effectively to have covered or removed all traces of pre-Roman occupation, at least as far as surface finds are concerned, with the exception of a very small number of sherds. There was a piece of porridge-ware, which could easily have belonged to the EB period, but in the absence of any other sherds of that period, cannot be used definitely to say that such a period of occupation was represented on the site. There were two sherds which seemed to belong to MB II, namely one coarse one with a raised, indented, horizontal band of decoration, and another

⁸⁶⁵ ZDPV 49, p. A. 500.

with a fine disc base. In addition, there was one absolutely clear, Iron Age I cooking-pot rim.

'Argûb ez-Zahar (93)

About a km. n. e. of Ed'an, and at a point about 3.5 s. s. w. of the village of Melkā, and about 3 km. w. of the village of Ḥātem, is the completely destroyed site of 'Arqûb ez-Zahar (93). For a distance of over half a km., the land descends in carefully terraced stages, from s. of the w.-e. ridge-road leading from Umm Qeis, to a spring, which we were told was called 'Ain Dilbeh or 'Ain Mujrein, but which on the Irbid section of the 1:50,000 map of the Transjordan Department of Lands is marked as 'Ain ed-Dāliyeh. About half way down to the spring is a small rise, on which at one time some buildings may well have stood. At the present time, however, there are no traces there or elsewhere on this site of any building remains above the surface. Were it not for the masses of ancient sherds strewn along the ground, this place could never have been determined as an antiquity site.

The pottery fragments were much worn. A sufficient number of them, however, was clear enough to establish definitely that this site was heavily occupied in EB. Its history may have extended from the beginning of this period down as far as the end of EB III, but there are no indications of occupancy in EB IV. The most clearly defined sherds belong to EB I-II, including band-slip ware of EB I, and remains of stump-based jugs of EB II (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 425-426, and Pl. 2). Some Byzantine sherds were found too.

This site, on a gently sloping hillside, with terraces whose supporting walls may well go back in part to the EB period, and with the presence of a spring, reminds one of similar sites, also apparently unfortified, such as Umm Beteimeh (302) 306 where EB and even earlier sherds have been found on the surface. Whether or not such sites were originally enclosed within great encircling walls is a moot question; we found some EB sites on isolated, flattish hills, but not on slopes of hills, in southern Transjordan which were enclosed within walls. 307 There may, however, well have been a strong blockhouse or fortress guarding such sites as this one of 'Arqûb ez-Zahar, which have by now completely disappeared. We do know, that very strongly fortified sites, such as Khirbet Kerak, did exist in the Early Bronze period, whose history as a great fortified settlement extends from the Late Chalcolithic through EB III periods; and we have seen that the pottery of many sites in northern Transjordan is closely related to and even identical in some instances with that of Khirbet Kerak. 368

It is clear that the periods from Late Chalcolithic to and through EB III were marked by considerable prosperity and long intervals of peace. Cultural interconnections are revealed, for instance, by the relationship of EB III Khirbet Kerak ware to similar wares from Syria, with the possibility that the knowledge of how to manufacture this striking type of pottery may first have stemmed from Syria. The pottery alone of these periods testifies to a high degree of cultural attainments, and the houses and walls of such places as Khirbet Kerak on the Lake of Galilee give further evidence of the well advanced civilization of these periods.

edh-Dhahîreh (94)

About a km. to the e.n. e.-n. e. of 'Arqûb ez-Zahar (93), and about 2 km. w. n. w. of the modern village of Hâtem, is the large, completely destroyed site of edh-Dhaḥîreh, known also as Ḥalân el-Hamîr (94). It is situated on terraced slopes leading down to the 'Ain Barûqeh, whose waters flow into the small Rôḍ 'Ain Barûqeh, which proceeds almost due southward to join a branch of the Wâdī el-'Arab. Practically no surface remains whatsoever were found, except numerous fragments of Roman and Byzantine pottery. The site is marked by numerous cisterns and cistern-caves and burial shafts.

Kôm Samā (73)

About 4.5 km, e. s. e. of the village of Hâtem, and about half a km, n. e.e. n. e. of the village of Sama, is the site of Kôm Sama (73),370 on top of a prominent, almost completely isolated hill. It is near the w. edge of the tableland, below which the many branches of the wudyan begin, which gradually draw together to join the Wâdī el-'Arab. The hilltop which overlooks the village of Samā is ploughed, as are also almost all of its slopes, which apparently were terraced in ancient times, and have thus retained a large portion of their original soil. Below the n. side of the hill is the spring of 'Ain Sama. On the n.e. slope of the hill is a large cave-cistern, which looks as if it may have belonged to the Roman or Byzantine period. The lower w, slope of the hill is planted to grapes and fruit-trees of various kinds. There are no ruins whatsoever visible on the surface either on the slopes or top of the hill, with the exception of some worn stones on the top. Large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds were found, however, on the top and slopes of the hill, in addition to some Roman and Byzantine sherds. Excavations might reveal the foundation remains of a wall encircling the top of the hill and foundation remains of houses there.

³⁰⁰ Bulletin 106, pp. 9. 10. 17; 107, p. 22; PPEB, pp. 72. 73.

⁸⁷⁰ July 19, 1943; ZDPV 49, p. A. 494.

el-Birz (74)

A little more than 2 km. s. w. of the village of Samā, and over 2.5 km. s. w. of Kôm Samā (73), situated on a low hill, are the completely destroyed ruins of el-Birz, called also el-Burz (74).³⁷¹ There are some indistinguishable ruins of a small building on top of the hill, which is further marked by numerous cisterns and rock-cut burial shafts. The site is completely ploughed over, and is strewn with large numbers of fragments of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed pottery. This site is situated in the broken hill-country, cut up by wudyûn cleaving their ways generally southwestward to westward to join the Wâdī el-'Arab.

Zigl (78)

About 2.7 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of el-Birz (74), on top of an almost completely isolated hill, is the completely destroyed site of Ziql (78). 372 It overlooks the confluence of the Wâdī el-Qeṣeir and the Wâdī el-Ḥaddâd, the continuation of which then under the name of the Wâdī Iḥjarā courses almost due westward to join the Wâdī el-ʿArab. This site overlooks the modern village of Fôʻarah, about half a km. to the s. w. of it, beyond the s. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥaddâd. Directly below the hill-site of Ziql, to the s. w. of it, on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥaddâd, is the spring, 'Ain Fôʻarah. At the s. e. end of Ziql is a large, rock-cut birkeh, with steps leading down into it from the s. side. It seems originally to have served as a quarry. Beyond it to the n. is a large cave-cistern, the entrance to which was covered originally by a vaulted roof, the lower parts of which still remain. There are other cisterns and cave-cisterns on the site, which is also marked by rock-cut burial shafts. Numerous sherds were found belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods.

Rujm el-'Azer (75)

About half a km. n. n. w. of Fô'arah village is the small site, called Rujm el-'Âzer (75), with the spring of 'Ain Fô'arah below it to the e. s. e.-s. e. It is situated on a small knoll, almost completely surrounded by small wudyân, except on the s. s. w. side. The completely ploughed knoll showed no surface traces of ancient occupation, excepting a fallen-in cave-cistern on the n. side, and a small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds, and several clear Iron Age I-II sherds. It may well have been connected with the probably Iron Age I-II, Roman, and Byzantine occupations of the village of Fô'arah, which we did not examine. The strong likelihood is with regard to such villages as Fô'arah, that they are built over the ruins of ancient sites. And in instances,

⁸⁷¹ July 20, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 495.

²⁷² ZDPV 49, p. A. 495.

where they are located by a spring, it may be assumed that they were occupied also in pre-Roman times. Only occasionally did we make an attempt to examine a modernly occupied Arab village in Transjordan to try to determine the history of its earliest occupations. By and large, however, surface examinations of such places led to no results, so far as determining particularly the possibility of pre-Roman occupation, other than the archaeologist's getting badly bitten by fleas. In such places as Irbid, however, modern occupation has not yet been able to remove or bury all surface remains of even the earliest Early Bronze pottery which can be found along the slopes of its hill.³⁷³ At the large village of er-Remthā, excavations for cisterns revealed the presence of Iron Age I-II pottery, which had not been revealed by surface examinations.³⁷⁴

Ihjarā (79)

About 1.75 km. w. s. w. of the modern village of Fô'arah is the large, completely ruined site of Iḥjarā (79), situated on top of a high, isolated hill, which commands a wonderful view over the surrounding countryside. Beit Râs ³⁷⁵ is visible to the e. s. e., and Mount Tabor is visible in Palestine. The entire hill is cultivated, wherever soil remains. It was distinguished at the time of our visit on January 20, 1942 by a large buṭm tree, outstanding in the hilly, largely eroded countryside surrounding this site. There are numerous cave-cisterns on this site, and rock-cut burial shafts. On the e. slope are several, more or less intact stone sarcophagi. Numerous mosaic squares were lying about, but there were hardly any building stones whatsoever visible. Large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic pottery were on the top and slopes of the hill.

Kufr 'Abâs (76)

About 3.5 km. e. s. e. of Ihjarā (79), and 1.75 km. s. e. of the village of Fô'arah, is the small, completely destroyed site of Kufr 'Abâs (76). 376 It is on top of a small hill, overlooking the small Wâdī Slâm, which courses northwestward to join the Wâdī Ihjarā, which, in turn, bends westward to join the Wâdī el-'Arab. The hill of Kufr 'Abâs is situated in a hilly, denuded and eroded area. There is a rujm of worn building stones on top of the hill, which is further marked by cave-cisterns and rock-cut burial shafts. There were numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds, with the latter predominating.

²⁷³ Cf. above, pp. 97. 153-154.

³⁷⁴ Cf. above, p. 97.

⁸⁷⁶ Cf. above, pp. 115-116.

³⁷⁶ ZDPV 49, p. A. 495.

Delham (77)

About 1.25 km. e. s. e.-s. e. of Kufr 'Abâs (76) is the site of Delham (77). The situated on a rise which overlooks to the s. e.-s. s. e. the junction of the small Rôd Raṭmeh with the Wâdī el-Ghafer, which latter in its continuation w. n. w. becomes known as the Wâdī el-Ghafer, the village of Delham also overlooks, beyond the s. side of the Wâdī el-Ghafer, the village of Sôm, which is about 1.30 km. to the s. s. e. of Delham. Delham is a completely destroyed site in a hilly, eroded area, which apparently at one time was covered with olive groves. There is a large olive-oil press, with parts of the upper and nether millstones still in position. The oil flowed into two side basins or wings hewn out of the rock, each about 35 cm. deep, in which the sediment settled, with the purer oil flowing off into a third basin extending like a ball tied by a string, in this instance a small channel, between the two above-mentioned wings. Several cisterns and caves were visible on the rise. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found on the site.

Tell esh-Shi'ir (80)

About 4.8 km. s. s. e. of Delham (77), and about 3.25 km. s. s. e. of Sôm, and 4 km. w. of Irbid is the large, imposing, largely artificial mound of Tell esh-Shi'ir (80) 378 (Fig. 60.61). It is situated in a rolling, fertile, cultivated hill-country, sloping down gradually to the w. and n. w., and marked by the beginnings of the wudyân, which join together like twigs to a branch, and like smaller branches to a larger branch, which finally, in turn, under the name of a main branch, called the Wâdī Demaikh, cuts its way deeply to the n. w.-n. n. w. to join the Wâdī el-'Arab. The modern highway leading w. n. w. from Irbid to Jisr Mejâmi' over the Jordan, makes a steep and sharply curved descent to cross the Wâdī el-Ghafr at a point about 2 km. w. of Irbid. The Wâdī el-Ghafr cuts its way to the n. w.-n. n. w. to join the Wâdī el-'Arab on a line passing the village of Sôm about a km. to the e., and then ascends steeply to reach the rolling, ridge-marked countryside, which Tell esh-Shi'ir dominates.

At the w. end of the ridge on which Tell esh-Shi'ir is located, numerous fairly intact dolmens still remain, and the ridges and slopes to the s. of it en route to the village of Kufr Yûbā, which is 1.8 km. to the s. s. w. of Tell esh-Shi'ir, are dotted with dolmens.³⁷⁰ The dolmens in this area must be considered but a small fractional part of the thousands of dolmens found on the

³⁷⁹ Cf. above, pp. 77.87, n. 200; below, p. 154, n. 387.

²⁷⁷ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 480-481,

³⁷⁸ July 21, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 482; Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlūn, p. 180; Albright, Bulletin 35, p. 10; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 36; Glueck, Bulletin 51, p. 9.

western edge of the Transjordan plateau and on the slopes leading down to the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the Wâdī 'Arabah.

There are masses of fallen and broken flint blocks on the flattish top of the tell. Among them, and on the anciently terraced slopes and around the base

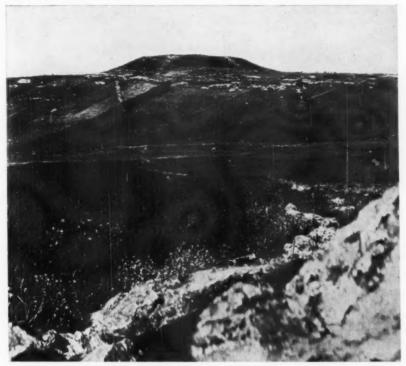


Fig. 60. Looking n. at Tell esh-Shi'ir (80).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

of the mound, we found numerous sherds belonging to widely separated periods. The earliest sherds belonged to EBI, and included clear specimens of bandslip ware of the type we had previously found at Tell el-Ḥammeh and Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yeraḥ). There were also EBII sherds, but none which could be identified as belonging to any later periods of the Early Bronze Age,

^{aso} Cf. above, pp. 78.119; Bulletin 101, pp. 9-11; 107, p. 22.

although one might have expected to have found EB III pottery fragments there also. There were several very worn pieces of pottery which might possibly belong to MB II, but it would be impossible on the basis of these fragments alone to posit the presence of an MB II occupation of the site.



Fig. 61. Looking s. at Tell esh-Shi'ir.

The next period that was strongly represented by surface pottery finds was the Iron Age, large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds being found. Belonging to that period are the remains of a large, flint-block, outer wall, strengthened at regular intervals by towers, which once enclosed the summit of the tell. The remains of this outer wall, whose great flint blocks and manner of con-

struction, remind one of the megalithic Iron Age fortresses at Khirbet Mudmâr, ⁸⁸¹ are best seen on the s. and e. sides. The Iron Age site was built on top of the Bronze Age site, and a small Roman and subsequently Byzantine settlement capped the man-made mound, which throughout the ages rose on top of the underlying natural knoll. Roman and Byzantine sherds testify to the last two periods of occupancy.

This prominent tell, presently unencumbered by modern buildings or burials, would well repay an extensive excavation. It is in full view of the mound on which the village of Sôm is located, and whose history might well parallel that of Tell esh-Shi'ir. The great mound of Irbid, whose history includes the periods of occupancy of Tell esh-Shi'ir, is also clearly visible, as is the site of Beit Râs. There is a small pond near the w. base of the hill of Tell esh-Shi'ir, which may originally have been a Roman-Byzantine birkeh. There seems to be no spring in the immediate vicinity of Tell esh-Shi'ir. It may well be that the spring which in all probability existed near there in earlier centuries, has dried up and disappeared.

Irbid

The towering mound marking the site of the large town of Irbid, which has grown up around it and in part over it, is 4 km. e. of Tell esh-Shi'ir (80). It is at an important crossroads, and from very early historical times on occupied a position of outstanding economic and strategic importance, even as it does in the life of modern northern Transjordan today. It is the chief government center of the entire 'Ajlûn district. The great artificial mound, which probably rests on a natural knoll, has often been examined, and there is little that we can add to previous descriptions. 382 The remains of massive Bronze Age and Iron Age walls can still be made out,383 but the massive stones of which they were built are being steadily employed for modern building purposes, with the result that all surface traces of the original walls are bound completely to disappear. Government and army and school buildings on top of the great mound, which measures about 230 by 150 m., and is oriented approximately n.-s., together with much use of drill and play-grounds there, have resulted in the removal of almost all ancient sherds from the top of the site.

On those parts of the slopes and base of the tell, which are not built over,

 $^{^{581}}$ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 192-194; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 36; Albright, Bulletin 35, p. 10.

 ³⁸² MDOG 23, 1904, p. 31, Fig. 14: Albright, Bulletin 35, p. 10; Abel, Géographie . . .
 II, pp. 36. 267-268; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 468-471; Northern 'Ajlūn, pp. 149-154.
 ³⁸³ Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 36; MDOG 23, 1904, p. 31, Fig. 14; Bulletin 35, p. 3.

we found EBI band-slip ware, and other sherds belonging to EBI-II. There were also numerous MBII sherds, and large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds. Some of the sherds which we have classified as Iron Age I, may, however, well go back to LBII, and there were a few painted pieces which definitely belonged to LBII. It is probable that excavations might reveal the presence of pottery throughout the entire Bronze Age, with the exception, perhaps, of EBIV, which seems scarcely to be represented in northern Transjordan. There were also large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. This site has been identified with the Beth-arbeel of Hosea 10:14, and with the Arbela of the Decapolis. Fragments of decorated basalt sarcophagi of Roman period origin are incorporated in some of the modern buildings of Irbid. Reused Roman and new modern reservoirs supply the water needs for the inhabitants of modern Irbid. There are no springs in the immediate vicinity of the site at the present time.

Tell Kufr Yûbā (81-82)

About 1.8 km. s. s. w. of Tell esh-Shi'ir (80) is the small, modern village of Kufr Yûbā, which we made no attempt to examine. The area between the two sites is dotted with dolmens or remains of dolmens. About three quarters of a km. to the s. e.-e. s. e. of the village of Kufr Yûbā, on top of a rise, is Tell Kufr Yûbā (81),³⁸⁶ known also as Tell ez-Zeitûn. On the top of the rise immediately to the n. of it, is a large group of dolmens (82).³⁸⁷ The slopes of the rise, on top of which Tell Kufr Yûbā is located, descend in broad, undoubtedly ancient terraces to the village of Kufr Yûbā below it. The village is located in a depression, surrounded by gently rising hills. Between the tell and the village is a small pond, which may well represent the location of a Roman or Byzantine birkeh.

The site of Tell Kufr Yûbā is marked by the remains of a massively built flint-block building, with the entire top of the hill covered with a maze of fallen flint building blocks. On top of the foundation remains of the above-mentioned building, there is now a modern survey rujm. Very large numbers of EB I-II sherds of all kinds were found, including numerous EB I fragments of typical "band-slip" ware. Most of the Early Bronze Age sherds

²⁵⁴ Cf. above.

⁸⁸⁵ Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlūn, pp. 152-153.

³⁸⁶ July 21, 1942; Albright, Bulletin 35, p. 10; Steuernagel, ZDPV 49, pp. A. 485-486; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 36.

³⁹⁷ Cf. ZDPV 49, pp. A. 483-485, which go into some detail concerning the nature and distribution of the many hundreds of dolmens in the area in which Tell Kufr Yûbā and Tell esh-Shi'ir are located; cf. *Bulletin* 35, p. 5, for phot. of dolmen near Tell Kufr Yûbā.

were found on the n. side and base of the tell (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 493-495, and Plates 86. 87). Most of the EB sherds seemed to belong to EB I, although excavations would probably reveal that EB II, which is represented by some specimens, would be plentifully documented. There were several clear MB II sherds, several chalice bases of a type which might belong to LB II, and very large numbers of Iron I-II sherds,—with some of the sherds which we assigned to Iron I possibly belonging to LB II. In addition there were some Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Abū Zeit or Khirbet el-Butm (83)

About 1.4 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of Tell Kufr Yûbā (Tell ez-Zeitûn) (81), is the site of Abū Zeit³ss (83), which is known also as Khirbet el-Buṭm. It is situated on an almost completely ploughed-over hill, with numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns having provided the water supply for the various communities that once existed there. There are the ruins of a flint block tower on the top of the hill, and foundation ruins of other buildings on the anciently terraced slopes of the hill. To judge from the numerous sherds found, the site was occupied especially in the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. One Iron Age II cooking pot rim was found. Excavations may reveal the presence of other sherds of the Iron Age. The discovery of a single sherd of any particular period does not necessarily prove anything.

Qaşr el-Ghûl (84)

About a km. to the e. n. e. of Abū Zeit or Khirbet el-Buțm (83), and about 1.75 km. s. w. of Irbid, is Qaṣr el-Ghûl 389 (84) (Fig. 62). It is on the w. side of the Wâdī el-Ghafr, a short distance below the very beginning of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ leads down from the plateau lands, which Irbid dominates. The ancient track which descends via the Wâdī el-Ghafr towards the village of Sôm and to the Wâdī el-Arab, is also one of the main ancient routes, still much used by Arab foot and donkey and camel traffic to get to or depart from the plateau lands centering around Irbid. At a very strategic point, guarding the entrance to the Wâdī el-Ghafr on the one hand, and the access to the Irbid plateau lands on the other, is the strong, small fortress or blockhouse of Qaṣr el-Ghûl. It is on the w. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which is narrow and steep at this point. It served the same purpose in ancient times as some near-by machine-gun emplacements did in World War II. Irbid was the center of a system of fortifications during World War II, when the beginning and

⁸⁸⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 483.

³⁸⁹ July 21, 1942; Nov. 12, 1946. This may be the same site mentioned in ZDPV 49, p. A. 483, which is called there Qaṣr Wâd el-Ghafr.

sides of the Wâdī el-Ghafr were strongly fortified with a series of gun emplacements. A whole cluster of these machine-gun nests was situated immediately around the position of Qaṣr el-Ghûl for the same reason that motivated the placing of Qaṣr el-Ghûl many centuries earlier in its particular position,—namely, the fact that then too, a small fortress located at or near that point could effectively control all traffic into and out of the Wâdī Ghafr.



Fig. 62. Qaşr el-Ghûl (84).

(Phot, Nelson Glueck).

The small, ruined blockhouse measures 7.50 m. square, and is built of large, roughly hewn flint blocks. An average size corner-stone measures 1.80 by .80 by .45 m. The s. w. and n. w. corners were still 8 courses high at the time of our visits, with the corners on all sides being well bonded. The s.e. corner was 7 courses high, and the n. w. corner 3 courses. The small fortress is built on a steep slope, about 12 m. above the $w\hat{a}di$ -bed.

Despite most intensive search on two separate occasions, only one identifiable sherd could be found. It belonged to Iron Age II. Some additional pottery fragments were located, so small, however, and so worn by the rigors of the centuries, that they proved nothing. With or without sherds, however, I am certain that this is an Iron Age fortress, of the Khirbet Muḍmâr ³⁹⁰ type of construction, and was part of the outlying strong points, which guarded access to Iron Age Irbid.

This small fortress made it practically impossible for any surprise attacks, $ghaz\hat{u}s$, to be launched from the Wâdī el-Ghafr, at any rate, against Iron Age Irbid. Otherwise, an enemy force, by keeping to the shelter of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\iota}$, could come very close indeed to Irbid without being seen.

Zibdah (86)

About three quarters of a km. to the s. e. of Qaşr el-Ghûl (84), and 1.7 km. s. w. of Irbid, is the small village of Zibdah ³⁰¹ (86). It is on top of a ridge, overlooking the small Wâdī Zibdah from the s. s. w., which courses w. n. w.-n. w. to join the Wâdī el-Ghafr. On the s. w. side of the village are visible the remains of the earlier Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic settlements, over and out of which the modern village was built. Several large cisterns and cave-cisterns were visible.

Jereitā (85)

About a quarter of a km. to the e.s. e.-s. e. of Zibdah (86), on top of a hill, on the e. side of a tiny $w\hat{a}d\bar{\iota}$ which bends n.n. e.-n. e. down to the Wâdī Zibdah, is the small, almost completely destroyed Roman-Byzantine site of Jereitā (85), with several large cisterns and cave-cisterns. The site is marked by a maze of fallen building stones.

Nåtfeh (123)

About 2.75 km. s. s. w. of Zibdah (86), and 4.6 km. s. w.-s. s. w. of Irbid, is the hill-village of Natfeh ³⁹² (123). I mention this village, which we did not examine for archaeological remains, because of the fields of dolmens surrounding it (Fig. 63.64). On the tops and slopes of the hillsides in all of this region, we passed hundreds of dolmens or remains of dolmens, and, as we shall point out in the discussion below, the remains of what we believe to be dolmen-houses.³⁹³ From Tell esh-Shi'ir to this site, one was hardly ever out of sight of dolmen remains.³⁹⁴

³⁰⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 192-194; cf. above, p. 153.

 ³⁹¹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 483.
 ³⁹² August 30, 1942.
 ³⁹⁴ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 483-485.

Kôm Nâtfeh (8)

About half a km. to the s.e. of the village of Nâţſeh (123), is the prominent site of Kôm Nâţſeh (8).³⁹⁵ It consists of the remains of a strong, flint-block fortress on top of a high hill, the outer circumference of which was enclosed within the remains of a strong outer wall, also made of rude flint



Fig. 63. Looking w. at dolmen w. of Natfeh (123).

blocks. It overlooks the Wâdī Ghafr to the e. of it, with two small wudyân curving around the n. and w. sides of the hill. On the n. side is the Wâdī Nâṭfeh, with the 'Ain Nâṭfeh in it. The wall-enclosed top of the hill is oriented roughly n.-s., and measures about 70 by 65 m. in its greatest extents. There were indications of towers at the offsets of the wall, which seemed to be 1.20 m. wide, and in some places, particularly along the w. side, was still 2.50 m. high. There is a splendid view over the surrounding countryside from this fortified

⁸⁹⁵ June 17, 1942.

hilltop, Irbid being in sight to the n.n.e.-n.e., and Ham (9), a short distance away to the w.-w. s. w.

There were numerous Iron I and II sherds on the top and slopes of this hill, and some later Roman and Byzantine sherds. The earliest settlement, to judge from the sherds, as well as from the nature of the construction of the outer



Fig. 64. Looking n. at same dolmen.
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

wall, seems to have been in the Iron Λge . This was a prominent and strongly fortified Iron Λge site, one of the numerous ones that seem to find no mention in the Biblical texts, nor in other texts as yet known to us.

Hôfā (6)

About 2.7 km. s. s. e. of Kôm Nâţfeh (8) is Ḥôfā 396 (6), on the e. side of one of the tiny branches of the Wâdī Ghafr. It is on a slight rise, and covers

³⁰⁰ June 16, 1942.

a considerable area, filled with ruins ranging from Roman through the mediaeval Arabic periods. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. There is a small reservoir there, and the site is marked by numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns. Greek inscribed burial stones have been found there.397

Khirbet Shîhah (5)

About 1.6 km, e. n. e. of Hôfā (6), is Khirbet Shîhah 398 (5), on top of a ridge overlooking the village of 'Eidûn from the s. s. w. It is an almost completely circular site, with traces of a wall once having enclosed it. At the w. end of the site is an old cistern still in use, and other cisterns must be buried under the debris which marks the site. Roman and Byzantine sherds were found.

Râkseh (4)

A km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Khirbet Shîhah (5), and 2.1 km. e.-e. n. e. of Hôfā (6), and 1.8 km, w. n. w. of el-Husn (1), is Râkseh. 399 It is on top of a high, fairly steep hill, whose slopes, however, are cultivated from bottom to top. Nothing but fallen building stones remains to mark the former settlements there, aside from several large cisterns, and large cup-hollows. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Qasr Râkseh (3)

About three quarters of a km. e. s. e. of Råkseh (4), and 1.5 km. n. w.w. n. w. of el-Huşn (1) is Qaşr Râkseh 400 (3). Like Râkseh and Hôfā, it is situated in the upland plain, which is dominated by el-Husn (1). This rolling, upland plain forms the backbone, which separates the eastern and western watersheds.401 The great site of el-Husn is at the e. side of this plain, although most of the sites close to el-Husn are situated in a semi-circle from the s. w. to the n.w. of it. Beyond this semi-circle of sites, the land begins to slope down westward, and is marked by the beginnings of the wudyân, which in their mergings finally form the Wadī el-'Arab, which joins the Jordan.

Qaşr Râkseh represents the remains of a small, strongly built guard-tower, constructed largely of massive flint blocks. Some limestone blocks are built into it, one above the doorway. It was originally a round tower, measuring about 6 meters in diameter, with a doorway on its s. side, which is 1.40 m. high, and .70 m. wide. This doorway is similar to others in Iron Age and later fortresses in Moab and Edom. 402 There are some cup-marks in the rocks

³⁹⁷ ZDPV 49, p. A. 429.

⁴⁰⁰ ZDPV 48, Pl. 8; 49, pp. A. 431-432.

⁸⁹⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 429.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. above, p. 113. ⁸⁹⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 431.

⁴⁰² Cf. Annual XIV, pp. 70. 71; XVIII-XIX, p. 104.

near-by, and on the n. side are three cisterns, one of which is still in use. Fairly numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds were found in its immediate vicinity, and several much worn sherds which might possibly have belonged to the Iron Age.

About half a km. to the e. n. e. of it, are the remains of what was apparently a similar tower. Still another small ruin of similar nature is visible on a ridge to the e. of it, about three quarters of a km. away. These towers may have been nothing more than "watchtowers in cucumber fields," or they may possibly have been part of a defence system, such as Qaṣr el-Ghûl (84), 403 which Qaṣr Râkseh is reminiscent of. 404 One is reminded furthermore of the rujûm malfûf in the neighborhood of 'Ammân, which we have reason to believe belonged to the Iron Age 405 (Fig. 65).

el-Husn (1)

Next to Irbid, the most imposing site on the east side of the Deir Abū Saʿid district is el-Ḥuṣn (1), sometimes called Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn. 406 It is 8.5 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Irbid, with which it is connected, as in ancient times, by a main road. Like Irbid, 407 it is on top of the watershed separating the tributaries, to the e., of the Wâdī Shellâleh, which empties into the Wâdī Yarmûk, from the tributaries, to the w., of the Wâdī el-'Arab, which joins the Jordan. Actually, el-Ḥuṣn is nearer the e. rather than the w. system of wudyân, but the sites it dominates are largely situated to the w. of it.

The modern village of el-Ḥuṣn contains in its structures and debris remnants of the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. A detailed study of every house-wall and courtyard would yield a considerable number of inscriptions belonging to all these periods, in addition to various stone reliefs. In the courtyard of one of the houses, we noticed a limestone door, decorated with the figure of a bull (?) and a lion (?), 408 both of them defaced. In the same courtyard was a large basalt sarcophagus, with a Greek inscription on the lid, a Byzantine cross on the right side of the sarcophagus, and a tree design on the left. An architraye over one doorway featured a wreath in relief, with two entwined serpents at the bottom of it, and two sixpetalled flowers on either side. 409 Many other sculptured reliefs could be cata-

⁴⁰³ Cf. above, pp. 155-157.

⁴⁰⁴ ZDPV 49, p. A. 431.

⁴⁰⁵ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 165-168.

 ⁴⁰⁰ June 15, 1942; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 434-435; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 36. 430;
 Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; 86, p. 22, n. 18; 92, p. 10; cf. above, p. 113.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. above, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁰⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 435.

⁴⁰⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 435.

logued and studied in this, as well as in almost every village in Transjordan. Many of them have been recorded, but many more have not. It would require much time, a large staff, and much stamina to attempt a more or less complete



Fig. 65. Qaşr Râkseh (3), looking n. (Phot. Nelson Glucck).

record of what can still be found in the modern villages, which in the majority of instances are built over and partly out of the ruins of previous settlements. Immediately n. of the village is the great mound of el-Ḥuṣn, known as Tell el-Ḥuṣn (1). There may have been at one time, probably in the Iron Age,

a dry moat deepening the natural dip separating the area of the village from that of the tell. 410 The striking, artificial mound (Fig. 66), piled up over a natural hillock, lifts itself commandingly and ponderously above the surrounding plain, which is planted normally to grain. The top of the mound, which is oriented e.-w., has been measured variously as 227 by 190 m., 411 and 275 by 180 m. 412 We did not measure it, and imagine that the figures cited are approximations rather than accurate measurements. The top of the great mound seems to have been surrounded by a double wall, with a moat between the walls. There are the remains of several completely ruined buildings on the flattish top of the mound, the largest of which sems to belong to the late Arabic period, while parts of the ruins of other buildings, of which but little is left, may go back to Byzantine and Roman times.

A considerable part of the top of the mound is used for modern graves, which are also inserted into the midst of the ruins of the buildings. The location of burials has changed with the passage of time. The earlier settlements which were located on the top of the mound used, in all probability, much of the area for burials, which is now covered by the village. In the village of el-Ḥuṣn, there still are visible burial shafts and chambers which hail back to Roman and Byzantine times. There probably are other tombs underneath the debris and foundations of the modern village which go back to much

earlier periods.

On the top and sides of the mound, large quantities of Roman to mediaeval Arabic potsherds were found, including some Hellenistic ones. Among them also were found small numbers of clear EBI ware, including several EBI "band-slip" fragments. One MBII cooking pot rim was found, as well as numerous Iron I-II sherds. Among the Roman period sherds were particularly large numbers of terra sigillata pieces.

We believe that protracted search might have revealed fragments of pottery belonging to almost all the periods from EBI through LBII, in addition to Iron I-II. The only qualification that we would make would be, that, to judge from the surface finds in other places of the North Gilead area, there might well be an absence or an apparent absence of EBIV pottery fragments on the surface. It must be added too, that the LB period, so far as surface finds are concerned, does not seem to be anywhere near as well represented as the EB, MB, or Iron Age periods. On the whole, however, it is possible to say, that intensive sedentary settlement existed in North Gilead from EB through the Iron Age, a fact illustrated by the pertinent references in the Amarna

⁴¹⁰ ANNUAL XIV, p. 52; XV, p. 110.

Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 430.
 Cf. above, p. 78.

⁴¹¹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 435.

Letters and the Egyptian lists of conquered towns, which fail, as Albright has pointed out on several occasions, to mention any site south of Faḥil, Irbid, and el-Husn. 414

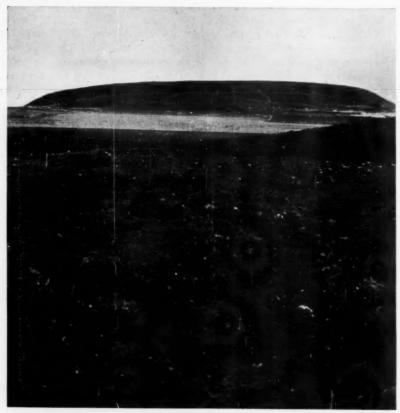


Fig. 66. Looking s. w. at Tell el-Ḥuṣn (Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn) (68).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

The identification of Tell el-Ḥuṣn (Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn) with Rāmôth-gilead, first suggested by Dalman, and which subsequently enjoyed wide currency, has been dealt with above, 415 where we have elaborated our identification of Rāmôth-

⁴¹⁸ Albright, Bulletin 68, p. 21; 86, p. 22; Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 265; cf. above, p. 96.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. above, pp. 96-104; Bulletin 92, p. 10, n. 2.

gilead with Tell er-Rāmîth. We have, at the present, no other suggestion for the identification of el-Ḥuṣn, which must, however, by whatever name it originally carried, have been well known in the Iron Age and earlier.

Kufr Melek (2)

Less than half a km. s.w. of el-Ḥuṣn (1) is Kufr Melek (2). 416 It is situated on a high hill overlooking el-Ḥuṣn and Tell el-Ḥuṣn. There are no building remains on the site, which is ploughed over and planted to grapevines, but there were numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Several bell-shaped cisterns were visible, their mouths cut through 1-3 m. of rock, with a set-back rim around the inside of each mouth to hold a stone cover. On the s.w. side of the hill were evidences of former quarrying operations. Numerous rough mosaic stone-squares were found on the top of the hill, of a type which can probably be assigned to the Byzantine period. Around the s. to the w. side of the hill bends a tiny $w\hat{a}d\bar{a}$, called $W\hat{a}d\bar{a}$ el-'Ain.

Tell Hâm (9)

Overlooking from the w. the small Wâdī er-Rejeileh,⁴¹⁷ or Wâdī Hâm, as it is also known, one of the southernmost of the branching wudyân, which finally join the Wâdī el-'Arab, is Tell Hâm (9).⁴¹⁸ It is 7 km. w. n. w.-n. w. of el-Ḥuṣn (1), and 5.5 km. s. w. of Irbid. The small mound of Tell Hâm, which is directly s. e. of the village of Hâm, is almost circular on top, measuring 37 by 34 m., and oriented roughly n.-s. Tell Beit Yâfā (11) is clearly visible from it to the w.-w. n. w.

Bare of all surface ruins, except small heaps of worn building-stones, an examination of the top and slopes of the mound revealed large numbers of Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds, as well as considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, and also a small quantity of EB I-II sherds, including a plain, semi-elliptical ledge-handle covered with remnants of a heavy reddish-brown slip, and a sherd with pattern face-combing.

There was evidence of a Bronze Age wall encircling the site, and also of an Iron Age wall, which was supported by a glacis. It seemed to be 1.20 m. thick. A cut made by some one into the s. side of this Iron Age wall seemed to show that the glacis was about 3 m. wide at the base. Excavations will be necessary to determine exactly the nature of these walls, and indeed to ascertain whether or not the Iron Age fortification did not consist of a double wall with a moat in between, and a glacis supporting the outer wall.

⁴¹⁶ June 16, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 432.

⁴¹⁷ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 430, 483, n. 1.

⁴¹⁸ June 17, 1942.

The constant use of the *tell* by the inhabitants of the small village of Hâm, has made it most difficult to find sherds belonging to all of the early periods of occupation, which may be assumed to have existed there. Excavations would probably reveal the presence of pottery of successive periods of settlement, paralleling those of Tell Irbid and Tell el-Ḥuṣn (1). Albright and Steuernagel have previously pointed out,⁴¹⁰ that the modern Tell Hâm is to be identified with the Hâm of Genesis 14:5. It has also been variously noted that Hâm appears as No. 118 on the list of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, about 1480 B. C.⁴²⁰

Numerous great dolmens are visible in the immediate vicinity of Hâm,⁴²¹ which are part of the great fields of dolmens extending between Tell Kufr Yûbā (81-82) and Irbid and el-Huṣn (1).

Tell esh-Sheqâq (10)

Two km. w. n. w.-n. w. of Tell Hâm (9) is Tell esh-Sheqâq (10).⁴²² It is half a km. n. e. of the village of Beit Yâfā. It is located on a small rise, above a stony, cultivated plain, with a small valley between it and Beit Yâfā. It is situated about midway between the small Wâdī Kharûb to the n. and the small Wâdī el-Khirbeh to the s., both of which bend northwestward as part of the branch system of the Wâdī el-'Arab. This is a completely ruined, featureless site, rising in two stages above the surrounding plain, and covered with exceedingly worn building stones. The top of the mound measures 40 by 35 m., and is oriented e.-w. (Fig. 67). Particularly on the s. and w. sides of the mound, can parts of the fortress wall which once enclosed it still be seen, built of rough flint blocks, rudely bonded at the corners. It probably belongs to the Iron Age.

Numerous Iron Age I-II sherds were found, and quantities of others extending from the Roman to the mediaeval Arabic period. Whether or not there was any Bronze Age occupation cannot be ascertained from surface finds of pottery, but it would seem unlikely in view of the apparently complete absence of any pre-Iron Age pottery.

This site partakes of a number of the features, which begin to emerge as being characteristic of many of the Iron Age sites in North Gilead. The average Iron Age site seems to be

- 1) generally built on top of an eminence,
- to have been so severely destroyed at the end of the final period of occupation that the surface walls but rarely can be traced,

⁴¹⁹ Bulletin 35, pp. 10. 11; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 127; Géographie . . . II, pp. 36. 341.

⁴²⁰ Bulletin 35, p. 11; Géographie . . . II, pp. 36. 341.

⁴²¹ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 127, and Pl. 8B.

⁴²² ZDPV 49, p. A. 486.

- located in a cultivable region, with the result that the modern cultivators plough and plant up to the edges and frequently over the site,
- 4) marked by Iron Age pottery, indistinguishable from that of Iron Age Cisjordan, and lacking, so far as usual surface finds are concerned, the striking and distinctive painted ornamentation that so much of the Iron Age pottery of Edom and Moab and parts of South Gilead possessed,
- and not infrequently, unlike this site, but as in the instance of Tell Hâm
 or Irbid, or Tell el-Ḥuṣn (1), built over an earlier BA ruin.



Fig. 67. Tell esh-Sheqâq (10), looking n. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Tell Beit Yâfā (11)

Situated on a high ridge, about midway between the Wâdī el-Khirbeh to the n. and part of the upper stretch of the Wâdī et-Ṭaiyibeh to the s., is the small, completely isolated Tell Beit Yâfā (11). La km. s. e. of the village of Beit Yâfā, over which it commands an excellent view, as it does over much of the surrounding region for some distance (Fig. 68.69). The village of Deir Yûsef is visible to the s.-s. s. e., as is Tell Joḥfiyeh (7) to the e. s. e.-s. e. Below the e. side of the mound is a cistern, with probably several others round about, which we did not see.

⁴²³ June 18, 1942; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 430, 487.

The broken, hilly countryside in which it is located is characteristic of the nature of most of the w. part of the North Gilead highlands, cut up by branch-



Fig. 68. Tell Beit Yâfā (11), looking n. w. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

ing wudyân, which join together to form the main streams plunging down westward to the Jordan Valley to empty into the Jordan River. Much of this hilly country was wooded as recently as Turkish times, and wherever the stands



Fig. 69. Tell Beit Yâfâ, looking n. w.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

of timber have been cut down, and ancient terraces do not help hold the soil in place, a rapid process of erosion is stripping the hillsides of their covers of soil.

Tell Beit Yâfā is oriented e.-w., and at the top measures about 21 by 15.50 m. It is littered with rude, flint building stones of various periods, with fragments of walls visible here and there. Extended search revealed the presence of small quantities of sherds, the earliest belonging to Iron Age I-II, and the others to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Originally, Tell Beit Yâfā seems to have served as a small Iron Age fortress.

Tell Johfiyeh (7)

Tell Johffyeh (7),⁴²⁴ which is 3 km. e. s. e.-s. e. of Tell Beit Yâfā (11), occupies a position much similar to that of Tell Beit Yâfā, and like it is situated in a rugged, hilly area on top of a high ridge, occupying a commanding position. The slopes of the hills and the small valleys in between are cultivated, as in the instance of the Tell Beit Yâfā area, and many similar examples. It is 2.2 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Tell Hâm (9) and is a short distance n.-n. n. w. above the small village of Johffyeh. The small tell, or mound, on its high location, is visible for many kilometers round about. To the w., the hills of Palestine rising above the Ghôr are visible. Below this site to the n., tracks lead down to the Wâdī er-Rejeileh, which, as has already been pointed out, is part of the wudyân-system of the Wâdī el-ʿArab; and the descent below it to the s. and s. w. leads to the upper reaches of the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. Also visible to the s. w. of Tell Joḥffyeh is, on the s. side of the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh cleft, the high village of el-Mazâr, which, at its 845 m. elevation above sealevel, rises above that of Tell Joḥffyeh, which is 785 m. above sea-level.

The flat, ploughed-over top of the stone littered mound is almost circular, measuring about 37 by 35 m., and is oriented w.-e. (Fig. 70). Parts of the fortification wall which once enclosed the site are still to be seen. It seems to be about a meter thick, and in places is still 3 m. high. The wall is made of large, roughly hewn flint blocks, with rude bonding, and must once have afforded strong protection to this small fortress, which served to guard the region and crops planted on the slopes and fields below it and on the neighboring hillsides. The water for the occupants of the fortress and the workers in the fields must have come from cisterns, as it does today for the inhabitants of the small village of Johffyeh. Olive, fig, and apricot trees grow in the fields adjacent to the village of Johffyeh below this site, and help sustain its approximately 200 population, which derives its livelihood mainly from small animal husbandry and from agriculture. The population centered on Tell

⁴²⁴ June 16, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 430.

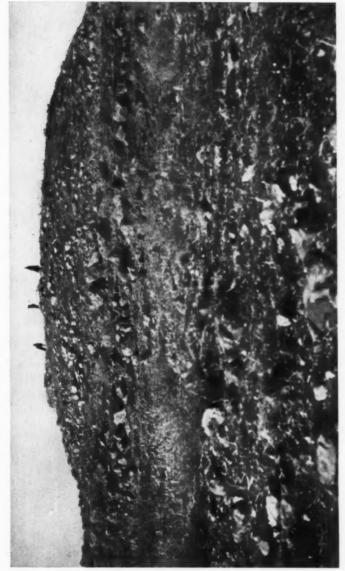


Fig. 70. Tell Johffyeh (7), looking s.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Johffyeh, say in the Iron Λge , which marked one of the periods of occupation there, may well have been approximately of the same size as that of the present village.

Numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, as well as numerous Roman through mediaeval Arabic period sherds, were found on and around the site. We also found a couple of intact early Byzantine lamps there on the surface.

Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112)

About 9 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Irbid, and 5 km. n. w. of Tell Beit Yâfā (11), is Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), 425 also known as Tell ed-Deir. It is several hundred meters s. e. of the small village of Deir Sa'aneh, which consists of a handful of rude, modern stone-houses, much of whose building materials have been taken from the tell. Tell Deir Sa'aneh consists of a large, fairly high, terraced mound, the base of which consists of a natural hillock. The lower terraces are planted to fig and pomegranate and olive-trees. The entire hill is overgrown with trees and vines, including the approximately 37 m. square top. 426 It is also littered with ruins of many periods of occupation, extending, so far as surface building-remains of any kind are concerned, from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic period.

The small, dry Wâdī ed-Deir goes around the e, and n, sides of Tell Deir Sa'aneh. It joins the system of wudyân, which in their continuation and enlargement bend generally n. w., and come together to form the Wâdī Zahr, the westernmost of the main branches of the Wadī el-'Arab. The villagers are dependent upon cisterns for their water-supply. At the s. e. edge of the village, a soil-filled birkeh is visible, which still collects some water in the rainy seasons, and retains enough moisture to nourish weeds throughout the year. It measures, according to Steuernagel, 45 by 27 m.427 To judge from the number of modern and ancient cisterns visible in and around the village and the tell, some of which hail back to Byzantine and Roman times, the inhabitants of the site have long been dependent solely upon cisterns for their water supplies. The villagers pointed out a place in the Wadī ed-Deir, where, according to local tradition, a strong spring once issued. Indeed, it seemed a likely place for such a spring, but there is not the faintest trickle of water issuing forth from the rocks now, nor has there been within the memory of any of the inhabitants of Deir Sa'aneh. We are convinced that there must have been a spring in the vicinity of the site, certainly in the Bronze Age, and particularly in the Early Bronze Age when it was heavily settled, or it would not have been located there.

 ⁴²⁵ Aug. 29, 1942; Bulletin 101, pp. 3-20; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 445-447.
 ⁴²⁶ ZDPV 49, p. A. 446.
 ⁴²⁷ ZDPV 49, p. A. 446.

In the past, agriculture largely sustained the inhabitants of the early predecessors of Deir Sa'aneh, even as it does today. Although in ancient times, there were undoubtedly considerably larger stands of timber than there are today, extensive sections of this broken plateau country were given over to agriculture and to vineyards and orchards. To judge from the size of Bronze Age Deir Sa'aneh, the extent of agriculture and supporting animal husbandry and trade must have been much greater in ancient times than it is today, although large areas of land are still cultivated today. The small collection of miserable stone hovels that marks the site of the modern village, can in no wise compare to what obviously must have been the size and condition of its very early predecessors.

In grubbing for stones to repair or build their houses, and in digging for fine dirt to make or keep in condition the dirt roofs of their houses, the modern villagers of Deir Sa'aneh have dug numerous holes in the bottom slopes of Tell Deir Sa'aneh, and in the level stretch that extends between the village and the *tell*. They have in these excavations exposed whole series of stone houses and stone walls, particularly on the s. w. and w. sides of the *tell*. In the process, they have dug up and smashed, if not already broken, very large quantities of pottery, which belongs to EB I, and much of which is brilliantly characteristic of the finest types of "band-slip" ware.

Some 300 m. s. w. of the very edge of Tell Deir Sa'aneh, at the bottom of a gentle slope which leads down from it and then rises to a level shelf of land beyond, and directly on the s. w. side of a junction of crossroads which lead, respectively, s. to Sammû', w. n. w. to et-Taiyibeh, and n. e. to Deir Sa'aneh, we found in a partly ploughed field thousands of very large fragments of all kinds of typical EBI pottery, including very numerous examples of plain ledge-handles and of "band-slip" ware. No surface ruins whatsoever were visible either in this field or the immediate vicinity, and only the slight swell of the area on which they were found might indicate the presence of a low mound and of house and wall foundations beneath. On no other site that we examined in all of Transjordan or in the Jordan Valley, did we find more numerous and more excellent examples of EBI pottery, and particularly of EB I "band-slip" ware. These sherds, and the area in which they were found, must be associated with the very extensive EBI settlement of Tell Deir Sa'aneh, although today this area at the crossroads belongs to the lands of Khirbet el-Mekhledîyeh (114), which will be discussed below. In discussing the EBI sherds found from Tell Deir Sa'aneh to the Mekhledîyeh lands, we shall therefore refer to them as from Tell Deir Sa'aneh-Mekhledîyeh.

So much exclusively EBI pottery was found on the surface at this crossroads point in the Mekhledîyeh lands, that it seems possible that they may have come from a large EBI pottery kiln on the site. This beautifully ornamented pottery is in no way distinguishable from that of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150), which site will be discussed below, or from that of Tell el-Ḥammeh (324) 428 in the Yarmûk Valley, Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yeraḥ) 429 by the Lake of Galilee, Beth-shân, 430 or Megiddo. In addition to the EB pottery at Tell Deir Sa'aneh, numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. So far as could be ascertained from surface finds, there was no other pottery between EBI and the beginning of the Roman period (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 458-465).

Khirbet el-Mekhledîyeh (114)

About half a km. s.s.e. of Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), is Khirbet el-Mekhledîyeh (114). It represents the remains of less than a dozen large dolmens scattered over the top of a low ridge, with no traces whatsoever of any subsequent settlement which might have produced pottery. From this ridge, there is a descent, in gently terraced stages, to that point in the Mekhledîyeh lands marked by the above-mentioned road-junction and the large masses of EBI "band-slip" ware found nearby, which we associated with the EBI pottery of Tell Deir Sa'aneh.⁴³²

Khirbet Hassan (113)

On top of a high hill, which rises fairly gently from the n. side, but descends rather precipitously on the other sides, is Khirbet Ḥaṣṣan (113).⁴³³ On the s. side, it overlooks Wâdī Leyân, which is the name for part of the upper stretch of the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. We are discussing Khirbet Ḥaṣṣan at this juncture, instead of in connection with the sites which can be associated with the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, because of its close connection with Tell Deir Sa'aneh and other sites near by, which are located in areas related to the Wâdī eṭ-ʿArab wudyân system. Khirbet Ḥaṣṣan is about 1.5 km. s. s. w. of Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), and about 1.6 km. s. w. of 'Athar (115). It is about 3.4 km. w. n. w. of the village of Beit Yâfā. The villages of Kufr Kîfyā, Sammû'a, and Deir Yûsef, among others, are visible from it, and there is a fine view w. to the Ghôr of the Jordan.

At the w. end of the top of the ridge on which this site is located, at least half a dozen ruined dolmens, collapsed on their supporting bases, can be seen.

⁴²⁸ Cf. above, pp. 137-140.

⁴³⁰ Bulletin 101, p. 9; AJA 1935, pp. 325, 326, Fig. 5: 8-18; Wright, PPEB, pp. 61-62; Albright, Annual VI, pp. 28-29.

⁴³⁰ Bulletin 101, p. 9, n. 6.

⁴⁸² Cf. above, pp. 172.173.

⁴³¹ Bulletin 101, p. 9, n. 5.

⁴⁸³ August 29, 1942.

They belong to the great dolmen-field, in which the environs of Tell Deir Sa'aneh are included, and examples of which are particularly prominent in the vicinity of Tell Kufr Yûbā (82).⁴³⁴ This dolmen field continues also on the s. side of the Wâdī eṭ-Taiyibeh.

The entire sides and top of the hill of Khirbet Ḥaṣṣan are periodically under cultivation, wherever the rock outcroppings do not make it impossible. There are no surface building-remains whatsoever. No cisterns could be located, nor did there seem to be a spring in the immediate vicinity. There may have been a spring at one time to supply water for the small community that lived there at various times. To be sure, the possibility of the fellaḥîn of the various periods of occupation having brought their water-supplies with them in skin or pottery containers, and sending several kilometers for more when necessary, must also be considered.

Were it not for the presence of fragments of pottery which could be definitely dated, it would be impossible from surface indications alone to have ascertained the fact that at various times in the past, a small settlement was located on this hill-top. A small quantity of absolutely clear MB I sherds was found, including a folded or envelope ledge-handle, a typical MB I face-combed sherd, and a fine outflaring rim characteristic of that period. There were several exceedingly worn sherds, which might possibly have belonged to EB I; and there were also some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

$Ath\hat{a}r$ (115)

On the top and slope of the hillside leading down to the n. side of Wâdī ed-Deir (Wâdī el-Khirbeh), is the comparatively large, completely ruined site of Athâr (115).⁴³⁵ It is about 1.3 km. e.-e. s. e. of Tell Deir Sa'aneh. The slopes leading down to the *wâdī* are terraced. There were hardly any ruins whatsoever to be seen on the site, which is marked by some cisterns and caves, and by numerous Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Zaharet Sôg'ah (116)

On top of a towering height, about 1.5 km. e.-e. s. e. of Athâr (115), is Zaharet Sôq'ah (116). There is a magnificent view over many kilometers of countryside, with many sites being visible from it, among some of them being Tell Joḥfîyeh (7), Tell esh-Sheqâq (10), Tell Beit Yâfā (11), Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), the villages of Deir Yûsef and el-Mazâr to the s. of the Wâdī eṭ-Taiyibeh, the Ghôr of the Jordan to the w., and the cleft marking the course of the Yarmûk to the n. w. Parts of the slopes leading up to the top of the

 ⁴⁹⁴ Cf. p. 176; ZDPV 48, pp. A. 99-101; Northern 'Ajlūn, pp. 168-177.
 ⁴⁹⁵ August 30, 1942.

hill were anciently terraced, and the very top of it was cultivated and planted to tomatoes, at the time of our visit. The hill stands about midway between the Wâdī el-Khirbeh to the s. and the Wâdī Kharûb to the n. On the slopes of the hills and on the tops of some of them in this region, more or less intact large dolmens are still to be seen. About half a dozen broken-down dolmens still remain on the slopes leading up to this site, the top of which is marked by a cadastral survey rujm.

The flattish top of this height was apparently once enclosed within a rude, flint block wall of fairly large size. Two of the stones measured, e. g., $1.15 \times .50 \times .30$ m., and $1.10 \times .60 \times .20$ m., respectively. On the n. e. side of the enclosure, the wall seems originally to have measured about 42 m. in length. The site seems originally to have been marked by a very strong fortress made of flint and limestone blocks. Its dimensions, however, can no longer be clearly ascertained without considerable excavation, and determining thereby the lines of its foundations.

A small quantity of clear Iron Age I-II sherds was found, in addition to some Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine sherds. There can be little doubt but that originally in the Iron Age, a strong fortress stood on this splendid vantage point, and served to guard and control the surrounding countryside. We found neither springs nor cisterns to explain how the garrisons obtained their water supplies. Some cisterns may be buried under debris.

Tell Bārsînā (117)

Tell Bārsînā (117) ⁴³⁶ is a large, completely destroyed site, littered with ruins, representing a jumble of walls and foundation remains that have collected from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic periods. Sherds belonging to all these periods, but nothing earlier, were found. Tell Bārsînā (117) is about 1.5 km. e. of Tell Deir Sa'aneh, and less than 2 km. n. w. of Zaharet Sôq'ah (116). On the n. side of Tell Bārsînā, at the bottom of its terraced slopes, is the Wâdī Bārsînā. The village of Kufr 'Ân can be seen on top of its ridge to the n. w. On the s. side of the extensive ruin-field is a deep cistern, in reality an underground birkeh, with pillars upholding its roof, called Bir 'Umdân. Round about this site, and on the slopes of the nearby hills, are numerous dolmens. They belong to the great field of dolmens that extends between Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112) and Tell Kufr Yûbā (82) and Irbid and el-Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn (1).⁴³⁷

There is no archaeological evidence whatsoever of any settlement at Tell Bārsînā earlier than that of the Roman period. It is impossible, therefore,

⁴³⁶ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 455, 456, 486; Géographie . . . II, pp. 437-438.

⁴²⁷ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 99-101; 49, p. A. 456; Northern 'Ajlûn, pp. 168-177.

to identify it with the Biblical Rōgelîm of Barzillai the Gileadite (II Samuel 17:27; 19:32), as Abel does. The bases his identification upon the name of Wâdī er-Rejeilī, by which name the Wâdī Bārsînā is also known, according to him, — a fact, which we were not able to corroborate from Arabs of the vicinity. That lack of corroboration, however, does not necessarily prove that the name of Wâdī er-Rejeilī may not exist. Abel, furthermore, attempts to find a connection between the name of Bārsînā and Bersellei, the Greek form of Barzillai. 430

Were there any validity at all to these name connections, as proposed by Abel, then the site in the vicinity to choose possibly as the original home of Barzillai the Gileadite, would be the nearby, outstanding Iron Age fortress of Zaharet Sôq'ah (116), less than 2 km. to the s. e. of it. It has been amply attested to, that biblical names wandered on occasions from their home-sites after the end of the Iron Age and took up new abodes in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, sometimes several kilometers removed from their original abodes.⁴⁴⁰

Khirbet 'Esrîn (109)

About a km. n. e. of Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), beyond the n. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥawârah (Miḥwarah), and on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Jî'ah, on top of a small hill, is Khirbet 'Esrîn (109). 441 It is immediately s. w. of the village of Kufr 'Ân, across the Wâdī el-Jî'ah. Both of these wudyân bend n. w. to help form the Wâdī Zaḥr, which joins the Wâdī el-ʿArab. The small, flattish-topped mound has some cisterns and cave-cisterns on its sides, but is otherwise undistinguished by any building remains other than a few, worn building stones. There is but little question that the village of Kufr 'Ân is built over the main, ancient site at this particular point, and that the small hill of Khirbet 'Esrîn, across the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, represents little more than a place of overflow settlement. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. In addition, there was a small number of clear Iron I-II pottery fragments, and several very worn ones which may possibly have belonged to EB I-II.

Umm en-Niml (110)

Less than 4 km. w. n. w. of the small village of Kufr 'Ân, and about 1.3 km. s. w. of the village of Qumeim, and about 3.6 km. n. w. of the village of Deir Sa'aneh, is the ruined site of Umm en-Niml (110), on the s. side of the Wâdī

⁴³⁵ Géographie . . . II, p. 437.

⁴⁴⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 24.

⁴³⁹ Géographie . . . II, p. 438.

⁴⁴¹ Aug. 29, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 457.

es-Sindyân, which is the n. w. continuation of the Wâdī Ḥawârah (Miḥwârah). The broken plateau lands to the e. and s. e. of it seem to be very fertile, and there are some old olive-tree groves growing in them. Umm en-Niml is a small ruin, consisting of the foundations of several buildings, with the stone paving blocks of one courtyard still more or less in place. Among them we found growing a large butm tree. We found a piece of altar-railing of a Byzantine church, and remains of some arches and vaults which probably are to be associated with it. There seems to be a cistern concealed under some of the rubble of the church-ruins, and several other Byzantine cisterns are still in use. Numerous sherds were found belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods.

Ibser (111)

Less than a km. to the s.-s. s. e. of it is the site of Ibser (111).⁴⁴² It represents much the same sort of place that Umm en-Niml (110) does, with surface ruins and fragments of pottery belonging to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods, and with comparatively numerous cisterns having furnished the water supply.

Mesâd (108)

Less than a km. to the n. n. e.-n. e. of Umm en-Niml, and overlooking the village of Qumeim from the w. side of the Wâdī Sheikh Serâj (the continuation of the Wâdī el-Jî'ah), is the small Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval ruined site of Mesâd (108). It has the usual complement of burial shafts, cisterns, piles of fallen building stones, and Roman to mediaeval Arabic fragments of pottery. They are the hallmark of so many of these sites, first established or re-established in the Hellenistic and particularly Roman period, and continuing with various gyrations in their history to and through the mediaeval Arabic period. Many of them have been reoccupied in modern times, or at least are being utilized as convenient sources of cut building-stones.

Less than 2 km. to the n.-n. n. e. of Mesâd, and about 2 km. to the n. n. w. of the village of Qumeim, is the small village of Qam, which Abel 443 would identify with the biblical Qāmôn (Judges 10:5). We were unable to visit the village of Qam, or examine its immediate environs, to determine whether or not there was any BA or Iron Age settlement there. To judge from Steuernagel's description, however,444 we doubt very much whether an examination of Qam would have revealed any settlement earlier than Roman. We would regard the identification with Qāmôn, for the present, therefore, as being at least uncorroborated. There have been too many identifications of sites with

412 ZDPV 49, p. A. 458. 413 Géographie . . . II, p. 412. 414 ZDPV 49, p. A. 460.

likely sounding names with biblical sites, for which there is no archaeological basis whatsoever, 445 and all too often only the faintest philological connection, if indeed any at all. 446

ed-Duweir (107)

About half a km. e. of the village of el-Kharâj, on a knoll overlooking it, is ed-Duweir (107). It is less than 2 km. n. w. of Mesâd (108), and is about 1.5 km. n. n. e. of the village of Hôfah. It represents a small, completely ruined site, and is marked by rock-cut cisterns, and quarries, and basins cut into the rock. It was probably no independent settlement by itself, but an appendage of one of the neighboring villages. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there.

Khirbet 'Asqalânī (118)

Less than a km. s. of the village of Sammā, and about 3.3 km. w.-w. s. w. of Mesâd (108), is Khirbet 'Asqalânī (118).447 It is a large, ploughed over, Roman to mediaeval Arabic site, with remnants of walls. There are numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns. In all directions but the s., where it is connected with a fairly level, fertile plain, the slopes beneath it lead down to a series of small wudyân, some of which reach the Wâdī Ḥôfah, belonging to the Wâdī el-ʿArab system, and others of which belong to the comparatively small Wâdī el-Ḥeṣā, which reaches the Jordan at some distance south of the Wâdī el-ʿArab. Among other places, the village of el-Kharâj is visible to the n. e. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. The hillsides round about are covered with a fairly dense growth of scrub oak trees.

Khirbet Zahr (106)

On a knoll, overlooking the descent in stages to the top of the Wâdī Ḥôfah, is Khirbet Zaḥr (106).⁴⁴⁸ It is about 2.4 km. n. w. of ed-Duweir (107), and 1.5 km. w.-w. s. w. of the village of Kufr Asad. It is an extensive Roman, Byzantine, and particularly mediaeval Arabic site, with ruined walls and vaults and numercus columns still in evidence. To the n. of it is the Wâdī el-'Amûd, which joins the Wâdī Zaḥr, which in turn empties into the Wâdī el-'Arab. The broken hill-country between the Wâdī el-'Amûd and the Wâdī Ḥôfah-Wâdī Zaḥr is largely covered with scrub oak. There are remnants, however, of old olive-tree groves, some of which may well go back to Byzantine or even Roman times. It seems that in the past, considerable stretches of this part of

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. above, p. 177, and Bulletin 91, p. 24.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Bulletin 90, p., 11.

⁴⁴⁷ August 30, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 448.

⁴⁴⁵ August 28, 1942.

the countryside were given over to olive-tree cultivation. Some stone mills for the crushing of the olives can still be seen in stretches where few or no olive trees remain today.

Tell Qâq (105)

About 3 km. w. n. w. of Khirbet Zaḥr (106), on the e. side of the Wâdī Zaḥr, which bends n. w. to meet the Wâdī el-'Arab, is Tell Qâq (105),⁴⁴⁰ on top of a hill directly overlooking the Wâdī Zaḥr. There is a strong flow of water in the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which was always accessible to the inhabitants of the site. Two shelves of ploughed land lead down from the top of the w. side of the hill of Tell Qâq to the edge of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The easiest approach to the top of the tell is along the n. e. side, where there is a saddle of land that connects it with the hill beyond.

Numerous Bronze and Iron-Age sherds were found on the top and slopes of Tell Qâq. There was a considerable number of "band-slip" and distinctive face-combed ware and other types, which indicated occupancy of the site in Early Bronze I-III. No sherds were found which could definitely be assigned to EBIV, nor were any MBI sherds found. There were several which belonged to MBII, and several which seemed to belong to LBII. There were large quantities of Iron Age I-II, with Iron Age II predominating. In addition, there were some Hellenistic sherds, including some black glazed fragments, and there were also Roman and Byzantine sherds.

The completely ploughed-over top of the mound slopes gently from n. e. to s. w. It is oriented roughly n.-s., and measures approximately 140 by 95 m. at its greatest dimensions. It is more or less oval in shape. Occupying a commanding position, as this *tell* does, with its cultivated, terraced top, close to a steady supply of good water, Tell Qâq furnishes a classic example of the type of site the early Bronze Age peoples chose for their places of settlement. It is clear that, certainly in the BA period, the top of the mound was enclosed within a strong fortification wall, as it was probably also in the Iron Age.

Khirbet er-Regâ' (104)

Beyond the w. side of the Wâdī Zaḥr, and the small valley through which it passes, the land rises steeply to the top of the broken plateau to the s. and s. w. About half a km. from the top of the plateau, and about 1.5 km. s. w. of Tell Qâq (105), on a broad, cultivated plateau, sloping gently in the direction of the Wâdī Zaḥr below, and overlooking the tiny Rôḍ er-Reqâ', is Khirbet er-Reqâ' (104). Below this sloping shelf, the land descends precipitously down towards the Wâdī Zaḥr and the Wâdī el-'Arab.

⁴⁴⁹ August 28, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 464.

It is perhaps a misnomer to speak of a khirbeh, in connection with Khirbet er-Regâ', because there are no ruins of any kind visible over the broad expanse of this large shelf of land, which comprises a considerable area, amounting certainly to ten acres or more. Yet there must have been a fairly large settlement there during the Middle Bronze I period, to judge from the sherds found on the surface. The settlement obtained its water supply from the small 'Ain er-Regâ', and its flocks may well have been watered also in the Wâdī Zahr or the Wâdī el-'Arab, There were numerous and typical MBI sherds of all kinds on the surface. The settlement from which the MB I pottery originated must have been established there anew, without having been built over the ruins of any previous settlement. It seems repeatedly to have been the case in North Gilead and the north half of the Jordan Valley, that the MBI period of settlement followed a gap in sedentary settlement, which existed during EBIV; or perhaps it may better be said that there was such a strong recession in the history of sedentary occupation in EB IV in these areas, that when the MB I settlements came to be established, they were founded, in a surprisingly large number of instances, on virgin soil.

There was also a small quantity of clear MB II sherds on this site, and, in addition, small quantities of the ubiquitous fragments of pottery of the Roman and Byzantine periods. In addition to the pottery, there were several large fragments of basalt bowls and querns, which we have found also on other MB I settlements,—although I do not know enough about the distinguishing characteristics of basalt-ware to be able to decide, if indeed it is at all possible, whether in this instance some of the fragments may not have belonged to MB II. The likelihood, however, would seem to be that they belonged to the MB I period.

el-Mesheirfeh (103)

Less than a km. to the s. of Khirbet er-Reqâ' (104), on top of a high hill on the broken, rolling plateau above the slopes leading down to the shelf of land on which Khirbet er-Reqâ' is located, is el-Mesheirfeh (103). 450 It overlooks the very beginnings of the Rôḍ er-Reqâ', which finally under the name of the Wâdī el-Â'waj joins the Jordan at Jisr esh-Shûneh. It is about a km. to 1.5 km., respectively, s. s. e.-s. e. of the Tulûl el-Medwâr, which are natural hillocks. The site of el-Mesheirfeh commands a view over much of the length of the Wâdī el-'Arab, and over Tell Zer'ah (100). The hill of el-Mesheirfeh is connected only on the s. side with the high, hilly plateau beyond it, which is spotted with considerable stretches of scrub oak. On the other sides, the hill rises fairly steeply above the slopes which stretch away and down from it.

⁴⁵⁰ August 27, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 461.

At the n.w. corner of this site are the remains of a Roman (?) blockhouse, with a deep eistern at its s.e. corner, and a large cave-eistern at its n.e. corner. Some Hellenistic, and numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. The earliest occupation of the site, to judge from surface finds, was testified to by numerous Iron I-II sherds.

El-Beweireh (102)

About 1.5 km. n. w. of Tell Qâq (105) is el-Beweireh (102). 451 It is a completely ruined site, on a large, flat, completely ploughed-over hilltop, overlooking the slopes leading down in abrupt stages to the e. side of the Wâdī Zaḥr and to the n. side of the top of the Wâdī el-'Arab. The slopes and small valleys below it are for the most part cultivated. From the top of this hill, there is an excellent view over much of the length of the Wâdī Zaḥr, and over a considerable stretch of the w. section of the Wâdī el-'Arab. On the n. and e. sides of the hill are caves and cave-cisterns. Numerous Roman, and Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Tell Zer'ah (100)

Rising starkly and massively out of the Wâdī el-'Arab, is the singularly imposing and completely isolated hill of Tell Zer'ah (100) 452 (Fig. 71). The nearly circular top of the hill measures approximately 140 m. in diameter. Towards the center of the hill-top, nearest the n. e. side, is a small depression, covered with reeds, out of which emerges a very strong spring. It once possessed thermal qualities, and has left deposits of salts on the sides of the hill, and particularly along the n. e. side, down which the strong stream emanating from the spring flows into the Wâdī el-'Arab.

The hill of Tell Zer'ah has no connection whatsoever with the hills which surround it on every side beyond the far sides of the twisting bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which bends around it on all sides just as streams of water diverge when they meet an immovable obstacle and join together again beyond it. These hills are higher than Tell Zer'ah, with the exception of those beyond its w. side. That fact probably explains why the spring can appear at the top of Tell Zer'ah, as a result of a natural siphon phenomenon leading the underground flow of water from the higher level of the hills beyond down to below the bottom and, as through a pipe piercing its center, up to the top of Tell Zer'ah. Another explanation may be that the water is simply forced up directly by the same kind of underground pressure which produces geysers in such places as Yellowstone National Park.

⁴⁵¹ August 27, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 461.

⁴⁵³ ZDPV 49, pp. 464. 465; Northern 'Ajlûn, pp. 142-143; Géographie . . . II, pp. 35. 36,



Fig. 71. Tell Zer'ah (100), looking s. s. w. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

The uneven, terraced top of the hill of Tell Zer'ah was at one time completely enclosed within a strong fortification wall, some parts of which are still visible, particularly on the n. side. This wall probably hails back to the Early Bronze period. Numerous foundation remains are visible on top of the hill, belonging to buildings erected from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times; and some of the foundations and building stones of both limestone and basalt-blocks may go back to still earlier periods. In addition to the water of the spring, we saw two large cisterns on the top of the tell, and there may be others, which like them may have been dug in Roman or Byzantine times.

In addition to several worked flints, we found a considerable number of fragments of absolutely clear EB I-II pottery, including "band-slip" and other types. Some of the sherds may have belonged to EB III. There was a small quantity of Iron Age I-II sherds, with those of Iron Age II predominating; and very large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Most of the Bronze Age sherds were found on the w. slope of the hill, which affords the only easy approach to its top.

el-Wahsheh (101)

About 1.5 km. w. s. w. of Tell Zer'ah (100), on the w. side of Wâdī Zaḥr, is the site of el-Waḥsheh (101). It is on the flat top of an isolated hill, whose slopes descend in stages towards the Wâdī el-'Arab below it to the n. On the n. side of the Wâdī el-'Arab, the slopes climb steeply to the hills of Umm Qeis (325). The top of the hill of el-Waḥsheh is about the same height as that of Tell Zer'ah. By the side of the Wâdī Zaḥr, at a point below this site, are the remains of a fairly modern water-mill. The remains of some foundations of buildings litter the site. Numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds were found.

c. WÂDĪ el-HESĀ

The $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ -system s. of that of the Wâdī el-ʿArab, and much smaller than it, is that of the Wâdī el-Ḥeṣā. It empties into the Jordan about 4.25 km. s. of the point where the Wâdī el-ʿArab empties into the Jordan. The modern village of Mendaḥ, which is situated about 2.6 km. s. w. of the village of Ṣammā, is situated about midway between the two main branches of the Wâdī el-Ḥeṣā, namely, the Wâdī Darâbeh to the n., and the Wâdī Qeṣeibeh to the s. Beyond the point of confluence of these two $wudy\hat{a}n$, the name of Wâdī el-Qeṣeibeh is still used, until the confluence with it from the s. of the Wâdī Abū el-Ghûl. Thereafter, the name of Wâdī el-Ḥeṣā is applied to the main stream. We have

already dealt above 455 with Khirbet 'Asqalânī (118), which is situated above the beginnings of the Wâdī Darâbeh to the s. of it, and the slopes leading down to the Wâdī Hôfah to the n. of it.

Tell Abū el-Hussein (119)

About 2.5 km. w. s. w. of Khirbet 'Asqalânī (118), and about a km. s.-s. s. w. of the modern village of Zibdeh, is Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein (119). It is about three quarters of a km. n. w. of and below the village of Mendah, 454 which, like Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein, is situated on a natural rise. The flat-topped, almost completely isolated hill of Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein, overlooks the Wâdī Darâbeh to the n., and the Wâdī en-Neir to the s. This latter wâdī joins with the Wâdī en-Neheir, which follows a n.-n. n. w. direction to meet the Wâdī Darâbeh. About a quarter of a km. s. w. of Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein is the spring of 'Ain en-Neir, just a very short distance before the confluence of the Wâdī en-Neir with the Wâdī en-Neheir. There is another spring nearby, called 'Ain Melah.

On the top of the site are numerous fallen, exceedingly worn building stones. There were some very worn fragments of pottery, some of which might have belonged to the Iron Age, and a few possibly to MB II. There were large numbers of mediaeval Arabic sherds, with numerous Byzantine and Roman sherds among them. On the e. side of the top of the hill, there is a small, apparently artificial cut or dry moat separating the hill from the mainland rising to the e. of it. If clearing of the debris were to demonstrate beyond all doubt that this is indeed a dry moat, the likelihood of there having been an Iron Age settlement on the site would be increased, supporting the otherwise too weak evidence of the small quantity of very worn sherds which may possibly belong to the Iron Age. We have found such dry moats in related positions only at other Iron Age sites in Transjordan.⁴⁵⁵

Râs Abū Lôfeh (120)

About three quarters of a km. s. w. of Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein (119), is Râs Abū Lôfeh (120), on top of a natural rise. It is separated from Tell Abū el-Ḥuṣṣein (119) by the tiny Wâdī en-Neheir, and overlooks the approaches to the Wâdī Darâbeh to the n., and the Wâdī Qeṣeibeh to the s. Near the bottom of the cultivated slope of the hill leading down to the Wâdī en-Neheir is the spring of 'Ain Melaḥ. At the bottom of the s. e. slope of the hill, just above the beginning of the Wâdī en-Neheir is another spring called 'Ain en-Neheir. Beyond this point, the land slopes up eastward to the village of Mendaḥ. The gentle slopes below Râs Abū Lôfeh are under cultivation today, as are

 ⁴⁵⁵ Cf. p. 179.
 454 August 30, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 449.
 455 Cf. above, p. 163; Annual XIV, p. 52; XV, p. 110.

those leading up to Mendah. On all these slopes, but particularly on the slopes and top of the hill of Râs Abū Lôfeh, were found large numbers of Early Bronze I-II sherds of all kinds, including examples of "band-slip" ware (see *Pottery Notes*, pp. 447-448, and Pl. 30. 31). There were also numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds.

This site furnishes another example of a type of location sought out with preference by the Early Bronze Age settlers, — long, gentle slopes, centered about a hilltop, with one or more springs in the immediate vicinity. ⁴⁵⁶ This is not a hard and fast rule, being qualified, e. g., by such a site as Tell Zer'ah (102), where, to be sure, there is a spring, but where there are no long, gradual slopes. ⁴⁵⁷

Mendah (120 a)

The site of the village of Mendah (120 a),⁴⁵⁸ mentioned above, is not listed on our map. It is a little over a km. to the e. s. e. of Râs Abū Lôfeh (120), and, like it, is located on a natural rise. There is a road from Mendah leading down to the Wâdī Qeṣeibeh, and then down to the Ghôr. It cuts through the lower e. slope of Râs Abū Lôfeh. The gentle slopes below Mendah represent fine agricultural land, and, with the exception of those immediately adjacent to the village, are under cultivation. In addition to EB I-II sherds found on the w. slope below the village, leading down to the Wâdī en-Neheir, we found some absolutely clear MB II sherds and some Iron Age I-II sherds, in addition to numerous Roman through mediaeval Arabic sherds.

d. WÂDĪ eţ-ŢAIYIBEH

The sites of el-'Abd (20), Meytwân (19), Râ'yā (18), Ṣamad (17), Sarâsī (23), and el-Kefeir (24), among others, are situated between the beginnings of the Wâdī et-Ṭaiyibeh and the Wâdī Ziqlâb, which rise among the slopes of the n. w. end of the great central watershed of North Gilead, in which all of the major wâdī-systems of that region originate. We have treated these sites above. ⁴⁵⁹ We have also already discussed above several other sites such as Tell Joḥfìyeh (7), Tell Beit Yâfā (11), and Khirbet Ḥaṣṣan (113), ⁴⁶⁰ which overlook the approaches to the Wâdī et-Taiyibeh from the n.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. 'Arqûb ez-Zahar (93), pp. 146-174, Umm Beteimeh (302), pp. 71-72; Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112), pp. 172-174; Tell Qâq (105), p. 180; 'Ameidât (126), p. 199.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. pp. 182.184. 459 Pp. 111-113. 450 ZDPV 49, p. A. 449. 400 Pp. 174-175.

Meskâyeh (16)

On the s. side of the Wâdī 'Araq el-Ḥammâm, as this part of the e. stretch of the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is known, is the site of Meskâyeh (16). 461 It is about 2 km. w.-w. s. w. of the village of Ḥabakā, and about 5.5 km. w. s. w. of el-Ḥuṣn 'Ajlân (1). It is a small, completely ruined site, situated on a slope leading down to the wâdī below it to the n., with the opposite slope leading up to the village of Joḥfîyeh, 2 km. to the n., with Tell Joḥfîyeh (7) just beyond the village. A number of cisterns and cave-cisterns mark the site. One cistern in particular is distinguished by a large block of stone, through which the mouth of the cistern had been driven, and in which a basin had been cut. There were numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds, and large quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds. Aside from a few worn building stones, there were no ruins whatsoever visible on the surface.

ed-Duweir (15)

About 1.5 km. w.n. w. of Meskâyeh (16), and about the same distance e.s.e. of the site of el-Merâmā (13), is the site of ed-Duweir (15). 462 It is about 1.25 km. s.s.e. of the village of Deir Yûsef. It is a rather small site, with the ruins of several buildings of the Byzantine (?) period still standing. The sherds were predominantly Byzantine. There was a large cave-cistern on the side of the site and another on the w. side, and probably several more cisterns or cave-cisterns hidden under the ruins.

el-Merâm \bar{a} (13)

Less than a km. to the w.n. w. of ed-Duweir (15) is the completely ruined site of el-Merâmā (13),463 located on a high, partly terraced hill. The top and most of the slopes of the hill are completely ploughed over, with the result that practically nothing of building remains are left on the surface. There are numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns on the top and slopes. Very large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. There is a splendid view from the top of this site, with, among other places, the village of el-Mazâr being visible to the s., and Tell Joḥfiyeh (7) to the n.e.

el-Feshek (14)

About half a km. s. e.-e. s. e. of el-Merâmā (13), and on a hill which is below the height of el-Merâmā, is the site of el-Feshek. It is bare of all ancient ruins, and is marked by several comparatively new buildings on top of it. Evidence of ancient inhabitation was furnished by numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

461 June 17, 1942. 462 ZDPV 49, p. A. 428. 463 ZDPV 49, p. A. 428.

Tell 'Ayateh (12)

About 1.5 km. n. n. w. of el-Merâmā (13), is Tell 'Ayâteh (12). 464 It is on a high, flattish-topped hill overlooking the village of Deir Yûsef on top of its hill, across an intervening depression, about a quarter of a km. to the e. Tell Joḥfiyeh (7) is visible 3 km. to the e.-e. n. e., as is Tell Beit Yâfā (11), somewhat over 1.5 km. to the n. n. e.,—both on the far, n. side of parts of the e. stretch of the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. There are no surface ruins whatsoever left on this cultivated hilltop. There is a pile of field-stones in the center, on top of which a modern grave has been placed. There are several cisterns on the s. w. side, and on the lower w. slope of the hill, and there are probably others buried under debris. There seemed to be no spring in the immediate vicinity of Tell 'Ayâteh today. Flocks could, of course, always be watered in the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, but little more than a km. to the n. of this site.

It seems most likely that the entire hilltop of Tell 'Ayâteh was once enclosed within an outer fortification wall, 465 probably during the Bronze Age period of its occupation. The Iron Age settlement which, too, once existed there, as we shall see from the pottery fragments found, may also well have been protected within a walled enclosure on top of the hill.

Numerous Early Bronze Age sherds were found which could be dated to EB I-III, including some which could have belonged also to EB IV, but could just as well have belonged to earlier phases of EB. EB II was particularly well represented. No other sherds of the Bronze Age were found. The next period of occupation attested to by surface pottery finds was that of the Iron Age, there being a small quantity of clear Iron Age I-II sherds. In addition there were numerous Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine sherds (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 453-454, and Pl. 39).

Shejeret el-'Asherah (122)

Immediately e. of the village of Kufr Kîfyā, in the midst of a grove of trees, called Shejeret el-'Asherah (122),⁴⁶⁶ which gives the name to the site, is an ancient, ruined, long, narrow house, of a type that we had never previously seen in Transjordan. Without thoroughgoing excavations, no definitive conclusions can be arrived at concerning it, but we are inclined to consider at least the possibility of its being typical of the dwellings of the builders of the great dolmens, that still exist by the thousands in Transjordan, and once could be found in very large numbers in Palestine.⁴⁶⁷ And if, indeed, this particular structure turns out not to be a dolmen-period dwelling, our feeling is, never-

⁴⁶⁴ ZDPV 49, p. A. 415.

⁴⁶⁵ ZDPV 49, p. A. 415.

⁴⁶⁶ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 417, 418.

⁴⁰⁷ Bulletin 91, p. 19.

theless, that such a stone structure could well be very similar to the type characteristic of the dolmen period. 468

Great numbers of dolmens have been found in Transjordan on the slopes leading down from the highlands to the edge of the Ghôr, along the entire length of the east side of the Jordan Valley, and along the e. side of the Dead Sea, and beyond. There is reason to believe that the dolmens were at one time almost as numerous in the cultivated highlands, as for example in the area between Tell esh-Shi'ir (80) and Tell Kufr Yûbā (81-82) and Irbid and el-Ḥuṣn 'Ajlûn (1),469 as they are on the slopes of wudyân, and on the slopes of the hills leading down from the west end of the highlands to the Jordan Valley.

It seems impossible to escape the conclusion a), that the dolmens of Palestine and Transjordan are most emphatically not the work of Bedouins; ⁴⁷⁰ and b), that, on the contrary, they are the handiwork of advanced people who belonged to an agricultural civilization, and who may have lived in long, low, narrow, thick-walled stone houses. Theirs would seem to have been a period of generally widespread peace, making it apparently unnecessary for every settlement to have the protection of a strong fortification.

The construction of a dolmen,—and there were thousands of them,—represents a very respectable architectural and engineering accomplishment. When one thinks of the tremendous effort involved in quarrying out the great slabs of rock of which most of the dolmens are made, and of transporting them to the desired place, and elevating them into proper position, one is compelled to conjure up the likeness not of a nomad unversed in the arts of civilization, but skilled artisans adept in construction with very heavy blocks of stone.

The presence of numerous dolmens in barren areas does not mean at all that their builders were desert-dwellers, nor that the climate has changed since the end of the dolmen period. It probably signifies, that during the dolmen period the population was so large that parts of it spilled over into marginal areas, where only a dynamic people could survive. Such a dynamic people in a later period were the Nabataeans, who farmed lands which others before them were not able to make use of, because of lack of numbers, energy, and technical skills.⁴⁷¹ This seems to have been true to a certain degree also of the dolmen-builders. Sometimes their dolmens were in fertile areas, other times in barren places or on the sides of wild, uncultivable wudyân, and at still other times, their dolmens would be placed in barren stretches directly over-

⁴⁶⁸ AP, p. 64.

⁴⁰⁰ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 99-101; Northern 'Ajlūn, pp. 168-177; above, pp. 174-175.

Bulletin 91, p. 19; Neuville, Biblica, XI, 1930, p. 265; Karge, Rephaim, pp. 553-554.
 Bulletin 91, p. 19; Annual XVIII-XIX, pp. 149-150, Fig. 52.

looking fertile lands. This latter instance would apply to dolmens on the lower slopes of the hills overlooking the Jordan Valley from the e.

Many of the dolmen dwellers may possibly have lived in tents during part or even all of the year, but we are convinced that many others of them lived all or part of the year in stone houses like the one at Shejeret el-'Asherah (122). The two long walls of this house are still standing. They are made of rude flint blocks, with small chunks of stone between them. The walls are oriented n.n.w. by s.s.e., with a doorway on the w. side. The entire dimensions of the house measure 10 by 7.50 m., with each of the walls about 2.15 m. thick. The doorway is about 80 cm. wide, and at present 1.10 m. high. If some of the debris were cleared from the doorway, its foundations might be seen to go down farther than they presently appear to go. The walls, which slope inward, perhaps by intention of the builders, may originally have been 1.50 to 2 m. high. The house could have been roofed by putting stone beams over the parallel walls, or by employing large, flat slabs for the purpose, in much the same way as the dolmen-builders used great flat slabs of stone for the roofs of the dolmens.

This structure at Shejeret el-'Asherah is strikingly similar in general form to the type of long, narrow, two-chambered dolmen, with the connection between the two chambers furnished by an aperture cut into the slab of stone separating them, that has been found in Transjordan. Such a two-chambered, long, narrow dolmen can be seen at Tell Umm el-Qetein (221), on the n. side of the Wâdī er-Râmeh, below and w.-w. n. w. of Tell el-Meṭâbi (220) on the s. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The remains of a similar, narrow, long, two-chambered dolmen, can be seen in the foothills on the e. side of the Jordan Valley, e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200).478

We believe that this type of dolmen is closely related to the type of house, or to one of the types of houses erected by the dolmen-builders for habitations for themselves during their own lifetimes, perhaps like the long house at Shejeret el-'Asherah. Such dwellings, built much less massively than the dolmens, and probably in far greater numbers than the dolmens, would, with the passage of time, disappear far more easily than the dolmens themselves. The massive blocks of dolmens could not be easily reemployed for other purposes, as could, for instance, the building stones of dolmen-dwellings. To judge from the cramped interior of such a dolmen-period house, it would seem little likely that the dolmen-period man could be considered in the category of a "giant." 474

⁴⁷² Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 19; below, pp. 385-387.

⁴⁷³ The River Jordan, p. 131, Fig. 68.

⁴⁷⁴ Bulletin 91, p. 20; Wright, "Troglodytes and Giants in Palestine," JBL LVII, 1938, pp. 305-307; Broome, "The Dolmens of Palestine and Transjordania," JBL LIX, 1940, pp. 488-489; Albright, AP, p. 64.

It may be of interest in connection with consideration of the type of dwelling erected by the dolmen-period builders, to bear in mind the type of construction of the neolithic house in ancient Jericho, where "no bricks were used, only mud in slabs (italics ours) or bulk between finished faces." ⁴⁷⁵ Had stone been easily available, the neolithic builders at Jericho might have constructed their houses of the same large, rough slabs of stone that the dolmen-builders used, or perhaps of rude stones in the manner of the structure at Shejeret el-'Asherah.

We are now convinced that all the evidence points to a much earlier date for the dolmen period than the one of as late as 2000 B. c., to which we had originally adhered.476 Already in 1936, Albright tentatively suggested that the dolmens should be associated with the Tahunian culture of the Neolithic Age. 477 Broome, quoting from a letter of Albright to him, mentions Waechter's evidence for the presence of Tahunian settlements in the Wadī Dhôbai. 478 He writes, "Albright is of the opinion that the dolmens must be assigned to the pre-ceramic Tahunian I period, and hence belong to the sixth millennium." 479 Albright has confirmed this statement, saying that he is "convinced that the true dolmens of this region antedate 4500 B. C." 480 Broome feels that the dolmens can be dated as early as 4000 B. C., 481 and considers the fourth millennium to be the latest possible date for the dolmens.482 We think that the sixth millennium B. C. is the latest possible date for the original dolmens, 488 as they are commonly seen by the thousands in Syria and Transjordan, and in lesser numbers in Palestine, and associate ourselves thus with Albright's general position for the dating of the original dolmens.

It is obvious that the original dolmens were used and re-used throughout the ages, as is indicated by the presence of Bronze Age sherds in some and Roman sherds in others.⁴⁸⁴ These sherds have no bearing upon the time of construction of the dolmens, in which or around which they have been found.

⁴⁷⁵ Garstang, AAA XXII, 1935, p. 167.

⁴⁷⁶ Bulletin 91, p. 20; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 129.

⁴⁷⁷ JPOS XV, 1935, p. 203.

⁴⁷⁸ JPOS XVIII, 1938, pp. 297-298.

⁴⁷⁹ Broome, p. 496.

⁴⁸⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 20, n. 56; Albright writes in AP, p. 64: "... we may confidently date them (the dolmens) in the Palestinian Neolithic, that is between 6000 and 4500 (possibly 4000 B.C.). Of course, these dolmens are imitations of the houses in which people had lived."

⁴⁸¹ Bulletin 91, p. 20; Broome, p. 492.

⁴⁸² Broome, p. 496.

⁴⁸³ Cf. below, p. 201.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Broome, p. 483.

Buried in the dirt near one of the dolmens at Tell Umm el-Qetein, for example, we found several EB I-II sherds, including an Early Bronze Age I ledge-handle and an EB II stump-base. These sherds, however, do not prove, nor would large quantities of EB I-II sherds have proved, that the dolmens there belonged to that period. They merely indicated that EB I-II settlements had been located there, or rather that in the EB I-II period the dolmens had been re-used. We are convinced that the dolmen-period predates the appearance of kiln-baked pottery in the ancient Near East.

el-Khleideh (29)

About 1.2 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of the village of Kufr Kîfyā, on an anciently terraced hill, is the almost completely ruined site of el-Khleideh (29). To the e. n. e. of it, on the far, n. side of the Wâdī et-Ţaiyibeh, the site of Tell Beit Yâfā (11) is visible. Below the e. side of this site of el-Khleideh, is a field of broken-down dolmens. Immediately across the small cultivated valley to the s. s. w., is the site of en-Naqî' (28), located on a slightly higher hill than that of el-Khleideh. There are some traces of ancient walls, but it is impossible to date them without considerable excavations. Some worn, but definitely recognizable Iron Age I-II sherds were found, in addition to some Roman and Byzantine fragments of pottery. There was no evidence of cisterns, which may well, however, have been buried under debris.

en-Nagî (28)

To the s. s. w. of el-Khleideh (29), across the intervening small valley, on top of its somewhat higher hill, is the site of en-Naqî¹ (28). It overlooks the village of Kufr Kîfyā to the n. n. e., and the village of 'Inbeh ⁴⁸⁶ to the s. s. e.-s. e. The village of 'Inbeh is located between several of the branches of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. The site of en-Naqî¹ (28) is situated between the beginnings of the Wâdī Ziqlâb to the s. and w. of it, and some of the small wudyân which empty into the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh to the n. of it. The horseback ride down from 'Inbeh and across the intervening wâdī, belonging to the Wâdī Ziqlâb system, and up to the top of the hill of en-Naqî¹, was a very difficult one, because of the steepness of the slopes and the ruggedness of the terrain. Foundation ruins litter the top of the hill of en-Naqî¹, where several rock-cut basins are also visible. There were numerous cisterns and cave-cisterns on the sides of the hill. We found large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic pottery on its top and slopes. The bottom slopes of the hill are completely eroded.

Sîbyā (121)

On a high rise, about midway between the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh and the Wâdī Ziqlâb, is the site of Ṣîbyā (121).⁴⁸⁷ It is somewhat over a km. n. w. of the village of Jenîn. It is a little over 4 km. w. n. w. of the village of Sammû' and about 2.4 km. e. of the village of Irkheim. The top of the hill, on the upper n. slope of which Ṣîbyā is located, overlooks the tiny Rôḍ eṭ-Ṭahānât to the s. of it, which bends w. s. w.-s. w. to join the Wâdī Ziqlâb. The country-side is severely cleft by the deepening wudyân, as they cut their way, together with their various branches, generally westward to join the Jordan.

Having descended the n. slopes of the Wâdī et-Taiyibeh, which were so precipitous that we had to dismount and lead our horses down most of the way till we crossed the bottom of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, we began to find fragments of ancient pottery almost as soon as we had surmounted the first shelf of land above the s. side of the Wâdī et-Taiyibeh, on the way up the slopes to the site of Şîbyā. These slopes, leading up to Şîbyā, are under cultivation, wherever possible. Şîbyā, itselī, is situated on a fairly broad shelf of land, with the slopes of the hill rising still higher above it to the s. and s. e. Mt. Tabor in Palestine is visible from it to the w., as is the village of Sammû' to the e. n. e. We were told that below Şîbyā, on the s. side, is a spring, called 'Ain er-Rīmôneh, which has a flow of water only during the rainy season.

On the top of a small rise on the shelf of land of Şîbyā, are the ruins of what may possibly have been an Iron Age fortress. The definite date of the ruins, could, however, only be ascertained through extensive excavations. We did find numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, which, however, need have no direct relationship to the ruins. We think they do. Not all of the ruins, however, belonged to the Iron Age, because it was obvious that they had been built over at various times. Some of the sherds could have belonged to LB II. We also found some Hellenistic sherds, including some fragments of black glazed Hellenistic pottery, and, in addition, there were some Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The history of occupation of this site, however, goes back to much earlier periods even than the Iron Age, to judge from other sherds found there. There were considerable numbers of EB I (-II) sherds, as well as a small number of clear MB I pieces of pottery (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 448-449, and Pl. 33).

⁴⁶⁷ August 30, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 419.

e. WÂDĪ ZIQLÂB

Tell Abū el-Fukhâr (125)

A little over 4 km. w.-w.s. w. of Şîbyā (121), is Tell Abū el-Fukhâr (125). 488 It is less than 2 km. s. w.-s. s. w. of the village of Irkheim. It is on a high, terraced knoll, which surmounts a large, high, almost completely isolated, largely cultivated hill, overlooking, from the n. side of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, the confluence of the Rôd el-Mekhesheh with the Wâdī Ziqlâb. Beyond it to the n., on the slope leading up to the beginnings of the Rôd el-Mekhesheh, on the w. side of the Rôd, is the spring of 'Ain el-Mekhesheh. In the Wâdī Ziqlâb, furthermore, the inhabitants of the site had a perennial supply of water. On the e. n. e. side of the hill of Tell Abū el-Fukhâr, is a small saddle-connection, which joins it to the hill beyond it, and which rises above it. On the side of this farther hill, are caves and shaft-tombs. At the bottom of the knoll of Tell Abū el-Fukhâr, covering part of the shelf of land and part of the s. e. slope of the hill, was an orchard of pomegranate trees.

On the top of the knoll are the ruins of some nondescript buildings, covering an area of about 50 m. square. There is some evidence to indicate that the entire top of the knoll was once enclosed within a fortification wall. Careful search on the top and slopes of the hill revealed numerous fragments of pottery, which showed that the history of occupation of this site was closely related, if not completely similar to that of Sibyā (121). There were fairly numerous and absolutely clear EB I-II sherds, some Iron Age I-II fragments, and numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds.

The evidence heaps itself up to the effect, that whenever there was a period of peace in the land, as there was, for instance, during the first part of the Early Bronze Age, agricultural civilization flourished, and all available cultivable areas were utilized. The nearness of two such closely related settlements as those of Şîbyā (121) and Tell Abū el-Fukhâr (125), in the rough hill country in which they are located, coupled with the evidence of numerous other related sites in North Gilead, and the high quality of the pottery produced in the Early Bronze Age, demonstrate a highly advanced, sedentary, civilized occupation of the land.

It must be emphasized again in the presentation of the materials of this archaeological survey, that despite the comparatively large number of sites we have recorded, there still remain many which have not been and cannot be studied even for surface finds,—particularly almost all of the places occupied by villages today. It cannot be far from the general truth to say, that most of

⁴⁸⁸ October 12, 1942.

the modern villages have grown up over ancient sites, and for all practical purposes obliterated the evidences of the earliest periods of occupation. That does not hold true for evidence of occupation from the Roman period on, because in almost each of these villages, building stones from the Roman period on have been incorporated into the modern houses, or can be found in their courtyards or similar places. In addition, fragments of Roman and later pottery can be found frequently on the slopes of the hills below the modern settlements, and in the refuse piles around them. That is very rarely the case with regard to earlier periods. Occasionally, chance discoveries resulting from the digging of a cistern or the laying of a foundation, as in the instance of er-Remthā, where such excavation exposed Iron Age I-II sherds, 489 yield irrefutable evidence of pre-Roman occupation.

There is no question but that very many of the modern villages in Transjordan were occupied in pre-Roman times. Knowledge of the earliest historical periods of occupation of these villages, would, however, we are convinced, merely buttress the conclusions arrived at from the examination of more than a 1000 sites in Transjordan, where surface pottery evidence has been collected to a more or less satisfactory degree.

And one more fact may be emphasized again here,—the general absence of surface finds of pottery fragments of a particular period in a comparatively large number of sites in the same general area, may indicate a complete or almost complete absence of sedentary agricultural civilization during that period, or a very severe set-back to the extant civilization, resulting in a radical diminution of permanent settlements, a drastic change in its character and influence, and the reverting or introducing of the largest part of its population to a state of nomadic or semi-nomadic existence.⁴⁹⁰

Tell el-'Ajmī (25)

Situated between two of the upper branches of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, is Tell el-'Ajmī (25).491 It is about half a km. s. e. of the village of 'Inbeh, which it overlooks, and is about 3 km. w.n. w. of the village of el-Mazâr. It is not a tell at all, but a natural hill, which is completely given over to cultivation. There were no ruins whatsoever visible on it, although a small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found. It probably represents a suburb of the village of 'Inbeh, which was undoubtedly occupied in Roman and Byzantine times, and probably earlier, too.

⁴⁸⁹ Bulletin 92, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Albright, Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77 a.

⁴⁰¹ June 19, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 413.

Tell el-Balkhi (26)

Less than half a km, immediately w. of the village of 'Inbeh, on top of an almost completely eroded hill overlooking the village, is Tell el-Balkhī (26). 402 It is no more of a *tell*, an artificial city hill, than is Tell el-'Ajmī (25). Numerous rock-cut basins and rock-pierced cisterns testify to intensive use of the hill in probably the Roman and Byzantine periods. The comparatively few fragments of pottery found, belonged to these periods.

Jebātôn (27)

On top of an anciently terraced hill, about 2 km. n. w. of the village of Inbeh, is Jebātôn (27).493 The slopes and top of the high hill are given over to cultivation, and no surface ruins whatsoever are visible. There is a view from the top of the hill to Deir Abū Sa'îd to the w. n. w., and across the Ghôr to the hills of Palestine. Some rock-pierced cisterns can be seen on the slopes of the hill of Jebātôn. A small quantity of worn Iron Age I-II sherds was found, in addition to Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Khirbet Zemâl (31)

Just w. of the village of Zemâl, on a rise in the midst of a very old olive and fig tree grove, is the small ruined site of Khirbet Zemâl (31),493* now used as a modern graveyard. An upright Roman pillar is visible there, but otherwise there were no distinguishable surface ruins. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. There were numerous cisterns, and some ancient stone olive-oil presses which are still used for their original purposes.

el-Qeinûsī (30)

A short distance to the n.n.e.-n.e. and below the elevation of Khirbet Zemâl (31), and w.n.w. of the village of Sammû'a is el-Qeinûsī (30).493b It is a completely destroyed Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic site, with some sherds and mosaic stones of these periods visible. Almost immediately w. of the village of Sammû'a is a field marked by broken-down circular bases, on which, in all probability, large dolmens once rested.

ed-Duweir (32)

About 1.5 km. n.w. of Jebātôn (27), beyond the n. side of the Wâdī Ghadrân edh-Dhanab, and immediately on the s. side of the Wâdī ed-Duweir, is the site of ed-Duweir (32), 404 on top of a large, anciently terraced hill.

⁴⁰² ZDPV 49, p. A. 414.

⁴⁹³ ZDPV 49, p. A. 414.

⁴⁹⁸a ZDPV 49, p. A. 415.

^{403b} ZDPV 49, pp. A. 418. 419.

⁴⁰⁴ ZDPV 49, p. A. 415.

There were no surface ruins whatsoever. Some Byzantine sherds were found. It is about 1.5 km. s. e.-s. s. e. of the village of Zemâl, and somewhat below its elevation.

Khirbet Req (33)

About 1.3 km. to the w.s. w.-s. w. of ed-Duweir, on the s. side of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, and about 1.2 km. e. n. e. of the village of eṣ-Ṣuwân, is the site of Khirbet Req (33).495 It is on top of a large, isolated hill, whose surfaces are given over wherever possible to cultivation. On the top of the hill is a large, rock-hewn birkeh, which may originally have served as a quarry, and which measures 6 by 40 m. A single family, resident on top of the hill at the time of our visit, was re-using an ancient cistern. We counted five ancient cisterns, and one large cave-cistern, with steps leading down into it. We also saw several rectangular burial shafts. There are probably more such shafts and also cisterns covered by debris. There were numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds, with some mediaeval Arabic sherds among them. There were also strewn about small squares of mosaic floors, of the type that seem to belong generally to the Byzantine period.

Khirbet Hussein (34)

About a km. s. e. of Khirbet Req (33), and 3 km. e. s. e. of the village of eṣ-Ṣuwân, is Khirbet Ḥuṣṣein (34).496 It is on a completely isolated, rocky hill, surrounded by small wudyân. It overlooks to the e. the Wâdī 'Ain Sarîn, which joins together with the Wâdī Ghadrân edh-Dhanab, to form one of the main parts of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. Less than a km. to the s. s. e.-s. e. of it, is the spring of 'Ain Sarîn. There are some caves on the top of the w. slope of the hill. The easiest approach to the hill is from the s. s. e. About 1.25 km. to the s. of it, is the village of Tibneh, on a high hill, which overlooks that of Khirbet Ḥuṣṣein. The highest part of the hill of the village of Tibneh is crowned with a modern castle or fortress, which commands a wonderful view to the w. over the Ghôr and the Lake of Galilee.497 The castle of Tibneh was built in comparatively modern times 498 (Fig. 72). There is little doubt but that Tibneh covers the ruins or foundations of some ancient settlements. The lands below it are under cultivation, and there are large olive-tree groves belonging to it. Some olive trees are growing on the s. slope of the hill of Khirbet Ḥuṣṣein.

There are no ruins whatsoever left on the top or slopes of the hill of Khirbet Ḥussein, other than some very worn building stones. On its slopes, and particularly in the ploughed fields just beyond the base of the hill and the small

⁴⁹⁵ June 21, 1942.

⁴⁰⁶ ZDPV 49, p. A. 413.

⁴⁰⁷ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 412. 413.

⁴⁹⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 412.

wudyân surrounding it, numerous Iron Age I-II sherds were found, in addition to later Roman and Byzantine fragments of pottery.

Sakāyîn (124)

About 1.3 km. s. w. of Tell Abū el-Fukhâr (125), on top of an isolated hill, rising on the ridge about midway between the Wâdī Ziqlâb and the Wâdī Abū



Fig. 72. Tibneh, looking s. s. e. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

ez-Ziyâd to the s. of it, is Sakāyîn (124).⁴⁰⁰ There are several, uninhabited houses on top of the hill, which are used mainly for storage purposes. No ancient ruins whatsoever were visible, with only a few Byzantine sherds being found to testify to former occupation or usage. The Ghôr of the Jordan is clearly visible to the w., the slope downward to it becoming increasingly precipitous. This site is 180 m. above sea level, compared to the approximately

⁴⁹⁹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 408.

1000 m. level, which prevails at the beginnings of the branches of the Wâdī Ziqlâb.

'Ameidât (126)

About 1.5 km. s. w. of Sakāyîn (124), is the site of 'Ameidât (126),500 above the s. side the Wâdī Abū ez-Ziyâd, which represents the mergings of a minor wudyân-system, s. of that of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. Its area includes a large, cultivated and anciently terraced slope which descends in stages much of the way down to the Wâdī Abū ez-Ziyâd. The spring of 'Ain el-Beiḍā is immediately w. s. w. below this site, on the n. side of the Wâdī Abū ez-Ziyâd, with its perennial stream. Both to the e. and w. of this site are tiny wudyân, with only the s. side reaching back and up to the heights above it. The general direction of the slope of the hill of 'Ameidât is to the w., and it is strategically located on the road leading downward from Deir Abū Sa'îd to the Ghôr, over which it commands a good view.

There are no ruins whatsoever left on the surface of the site, whose periods of occupation can be judged only from the pottery remains gleaned from the surface. Numerous sherds were found on the cultivated slopes belonging clearly to Early Bronze I-II.⁵⁰¹ In addition, there were large numbers of Roman, and especially of Byzantine sherds. Furthermore, three rounded, conical-shaped limestone objects were found, which obviously had been broken off of some columns. They may possibly represent the tops of Byzantine chancel posts, ⁵⁰² and indicate the presence during the Byzantine period of a church. Considering the size of the Byzantine settlement, if the very large numbers of Byzantine sherds can be used to gauge it, it would seem most probable that at least one church had stood on the site during that period (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 425, and Pl. 1; Fig. 73).

Qarqûd (121 a)

About 1.5 km. w. of the village of Khanzîreh, which is 3 km. s.-s. s. w. of the village of eṣ-Ṣuwân, 503 is a ridge marked by the remains of large dolmens, and known as Qarqûd (121a). 504 The e.-w. ridges, both n. and s. of the road leading w. from the village of Khanzîreh down to the Ghôr el-Arba'în in the Jordan Valley, show the remains of many dolmens,—in some instances of the actual dolmens, and in others of the bases on which they were originally erected. On the n. side of this dolmen field is the tiny Wâdī el-Yahûdī. 505

⁵⁰⁰ October 12, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 408.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. above, p. 186, n. 456.

⁵⁰² Cf. QDAP V, Pl. LXXXV: 1.2.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. above, p. 197.

⁸⁰⁴ August 30, 1942.

⁸⁰⁵ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 405, 406.

Rhân (121 b)

A short distance n. of the village of Khanzîreh, across a tiny $w\hat{a}di$, is another very large dolmen field, centering about a ridge, with the name of Rhân (121 b).



Fig. 73. Limestone knobs from chancel-posts at 'Ameidât (126).

All the way from these areas centering around Khanzîreh to Kufr Kîfyā and Shejeret el-'Asherah (122) and Nâţfeh (123) and Tell esh-Shi'ir (80) and

Irbid, and all the way down to the foothills of the Jordan Valley, are contiguous fields of dolmens. ⁵⁰⁶ It can safely be said, that the entire cultivable hill country and slopes of North Gilead leading down to the Jordan Valley were dotted with dolmens, not to speak of other parts of Transjordan. We have pointed out above, ⁵⁰⁷ in connection with the discussion of Shejeret el-'Asherah (122), that the dolmens could have been built only by a civilized people. We expressed our conviction that the dolmen-period people were cultivators of the soil, and lived in separate long, stone houses, or clusters of houses. It may well be, that the dolmen builders were driven out or absorbed, or partly both, by one of those waves of invaders that periodically have conquered parts or all of ancient Transjordan. It is our belief, that some of the huge terraces seen in North Gilead, built for the sake of holding the soil in place, and in some places still serving that purpose to this very day, may have originated in the dolmen period, no later than the 6th millennium B, C. ⁵⁰⁸

Menweh (35)

About 3.25 km, w. n. w. of the village of Khanzîreh, on top of a hill overlooking the village of Abū el-Qein, about half a km. to the w. n. w.-n. w. of it, is the site of Menweh (35).500 It is about midway between the branch-system of the small Wadī Abū ez-Ziyad, which is s. of the Wadī Ziglab, and the small $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -system, which descends w. under numerous names, among others, finally, that of the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh. The easternmost beginnings of this small wâdīsystem commence in the wooded hills just s. of the village of Khanzîreh. To the s. of, and more or less paralleling this small wadi-system, and ranging from a km. to a little over 2 km. removed from it, is the Wadī el-Malawī, which reaches the Jordan under the name of the Rôd Umm es-Sahâl. Its beginnings rise s. of the village of Kufr Râkib and n. of the village of Beit Idis. The broad, flattish top of the hill, and its slopes, are given over completely to cultivation, with the gradual slopes being terraced apparently already in ancient times. No ruins whatsoever were visible, other than some brokendown dolmens below the s. e. end of the site. The steepest slope is on the e. side. This site commands a splendid view over the Ghôr. There is a cistern near the n. w. end of the top of the site, whose construction seems to be modern. Careful search revealed the presence of some clear, but very worn Iron Age I-II sherds, as well as some belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. above, p. 157; ZDPV 49, pp. A. 483-485; Northern 'Ajlūn, pp. 169-177.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. abo 'e, pp. 188-192.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. above, p. 191.

⁵⁰⁰ June 22, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 406.

Zaharet el-Bedd (36)

About a km. w. s. w. of the village of Abū el-Qein, on top of a large hill that overlooks it, is the site of Zaharet el-Bedd (36). Tt commands a view over the Ghôr to the w.; and the village of Deir Abū Saʿīd is visible to the n. n. e. There are no surface ruins whatsoever visible, and the top and anciently terraced slopes of the hill are given over to cultivation. There are springs in the Wâdī el-Ḥafâyir (which ultimately becomes known as the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh), about a km. to the s. of it, and there are also springs about a km. to the w. of it in a tiny $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$, leading s. w.-s. s. w. into the Wâdī el-Ḥafâyir. Below the e. side of the hill, is a spring which has an intermittent flow. On the lower e. side of the hill, there is a fine, large dolmen.

Several worked flints were found on this site. The earliest pottery period was represented by large numbers of MB I sherds. Here again, is an example of the fact, that the MBI civilization in North Gilead seems, in significantly many instances, to have been founded anew, on what at least for the MBI settlers was virgin soil, and had never previously in historical times been occupied. The presence, in other instances, of earlier sherds, which could be dated from EBI to no later than EBIII,511 seems to underline the fact, that in the EB IV period there was nearly a complete gap in the history of civilized sedentary occupation of most of North Gilead. It seems, as a result of a severe set-back, that but very few places were occupied in that period. The fact remains, that the MBI settlers were apparently able to take over most of North Gilead, without having to overcome the resistance, or any appreciable resistance, of a sedentary, civilized population of the EBIV period. Among large settlements of MBI, which were founded on virgin soil, one may list Mu'amārîyeh (304),512 e. of Jerash, and Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199 a)518 in the Jordan Valley. An example of the pioneer establishment of MBI settlement, is furnished, for instance, by the site of Tell el-'Ain (305),514 which is about 1.5 km. s. w. of Mu'amārîyeh (304), or by the site of Sibyā (121).515 In addition to the MB I sherds, there were some clear MB II fragments of pottery, and numerous Iron Age I-II, and Roman and Byzantine ones (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 511, and Pl. 109).

Found by a fellah, while ploughing the lands of Zaharet el-Bedd, subsequent to the time of our visit there, was the sculpture of an eagle, with a serpent entwined about it, which we would date to the Roman period, and assign approximately to the 2nd century A. D. It would seem to be closely related in

⁵¹⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 406.

⁵¹¹ Cf. above, pp. 60.67.84.

⁵¹² Cf. above, pp. 82-84.

⁵¹³ Cf. above, p. 83; Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. above, p. 84.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. above, p. 193.

general style to the Nabataean sculpture, which we discovered at Khirbet Tannûr, of an eagle standing on a wreath, with a serpent entwined about it in much the same fashion (Fig. 74-77. 79). 516 The relief of an eagle on a Nabataean pilaster capital from Khirbet Tannûr may also be considered for purposes of comparison in this connection (Fig. 78). 517 We would assign these Nabataean sculptures from Khirbet Tannûr to the first part of the 2nd century A. D. We are not acquainted with what other finds may have been made together with the eagle-serpent sculpture at Zaharet el-Bedd, and are not in a position at the time of writing to find out. Noteworthy are the "p" and "x" characters in their Greek form on the back of the left wing of the eagle from Zaharet el-Bedd, which probably represent the sculptor's identifying marks (cf. Fig. 77).

el-Lejjûn (37)

A little more than half a km. to the s.-s. s. e. of Zaharet el-Bedd (36), is the site of el-Lejjûn (37), on a small, flat-topped hill. There are cave-cisterns and rock-cut tomb shafts on the site, which otherwise is given over wherever possible completely to cultivation. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

el-Jelmeh (38)

Immediately to the e. of el-Lejjûn (37), and separated from it only by a small valley in between, is the site of el-Jelmeh (38), which is almost exactly similar to that of el-Lejjûn. There are comparatively numerous building stones littering its surfaces. Both of them overlook from the s. the tiny Wâdī el-Lôz, which bends s. w.-w. s. w. to join the Wâdī el-Ḥafâyir. The site of el-Jelmeh is 1.25 km, s. w. of Menweh (35).

el-Khârjeh (233)

Among the hills, leading down to the Jordan Valley, about 3.5 km. e. of the village of Beit Idis, on a separate rise, is the site of el-Khârjeh (233).⁵¹⁸ It is situated between the Wâdī Şîr to the n. of it, which joins the Wâdī el-Malâwī, and the Wâdī Sâleḥ to the s. of it, which farther w. becomes known as the Wâdī el-Ḥammâm, among other names. The beginnings of this wâdī rise in the hills to the e. and s. e. of Beit Idis.

This is a small, completely ruined site, with numerous, large, well-cut limestone blocks, strewn about. Below its e. side is a small rolling plain, which intervenes between this site and the slopes and hills rising higher to

⁵¹⁶ The Illustrated London News, Aug. 21, 1937, p. 300, Fig. 18.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. Avi Yonah, Oriental Elements in Palestinian Art in the Roman and Byzantine Periods, II, QDAP: 3-4, p. 136, Fig. 9.

⁵¹⁸ Feb. 18, 1943.



Fig. 74. Eagle and serpent sculpture from Zaharet el-Bedd (36). (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 75. Close-up of heads of eagle and serpent of limestone sculpture from Zaharet el-Bedd.

(Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 76. Side view showing particularly back of head of eagle and details on cagle-serpent sculpture from Zaharet el-Bedd.

(Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

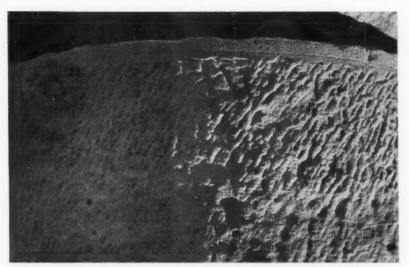


Fig. 77. Sculptor's marks on back of sculpture of eagle from Zaharet el-Bedd. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 78. Sculptured relief of eagle from Nabataean temple of Khirbet Tannûr. (Phot. American Schools of Oriental Research).

the e. above it. To the w., it commands a view over the site of Ṣarṭabā (232), 2.5 km. away from it, and over the Jordan Valley below and the Beisân plain beyond. Several cisterns are visible on the site. There are numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Sartabā (232)

The extremely high and very large hill, on which Sartabā (232) 519 is located, is 2.5 km. w. of el-Khârjeh (233). There are several steep rises with tiny $wudy\hat{a}n$ between them. There is a magnificent view from this site over the Ghôr and Zôr of the Jordan, almost as far south as ed-Dâmieh, and over the Lake of Galilee to the n., and beyond, still farther to the w., over much of the e. hills of Palestine. The great hill is almost completely surrounded by $wudy\hat{a}n$, except on the e. side, where it is connected by a saddle of land to the rise to the e. of it. The s. e. and s. slopes of the hill descend in broadly terraced stages. The w. slope leads down steeply towards the descending steps of hills, marking the way down to the Jordan Valley.

The tiny settlement of Țanțûr is visible below it about a km. to the n. n. e., on the n. side of the Wâdī Malâwī. In the distance, to the s. e., the great castle of Qal'at er-Rabaḍ by 'Ajlûn (129) can be seen towering on its lofty eminence, 995 m. above sea level. About half a km. below Ṣarṭabā to the s., is the small, but steep Wâdī el-Ḥammâm.

The top of this great hill takes on the dimensions of a large, upland meadow. It is crowned by the remains of a strong fortress, with square corner towers, and some evidence of smaller rectangular side towers against the center of each wall. The fortress is oriented n.-s., and measures approximately 46 by 43 m., excluding the corner towers, which measure from 12 to 15 m. square. Only three of the corner towers can still be seen. The only more or less traceable side tower measures about 6.5 by 5 m. The walls of the fortress were 2.20 m. thick, and built of roughly-cut limestone blocks, with the corners well bonded. About 150 m. to the s. e. of it, are the even more confused ruins of a smaller structure. There is some evidence to indicate that both may have been contained within an enclosing wall. The main fortress is near the steep w. slope. Near the n. side of the fortress, was a large, filled-up cave, which may once have been utilized as a cistern. Other cisterns were buried under debris. The fortress may be comparatively late in origin. It is certainly no earlier than late Byzantine, and in all probability is much later. It was extremely difficult to find any sherds at all. The only definitely recognizable ones were Byzantine.

⁸¹⁹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 398.



Fig. 79. Sculpture of eagle and serpent from Nabataean temple of Khirbet Tannûr.

(Phot. American Schools of Oriental Research).

Miryamîn (231)

About a km, beyond the s, side of the Wadī el-Hammam, and 1.5 km, to the s. s. e. of Sartaba (232), on the top and sides of a large hill, is the site of Mirvamîn (231).520 It took us about 2 hours to ride up to it on horseback from the Jordan Valley below it, over the n. part of which it commands a splendid view. Tell Abū Kharaz and Tell el-Megbereh (159), which we have associated with the Biblical site of Jabesh-gilead, 521 are visible from this site, as are other places in the Jordan Valley. There is a considerable amount of cultivation around the site, standing as it does in the midst of a small, rolling upland plain, which represents a small, uneven step in the descent from the top of the plateau above to the e., and down to the Jordan Valley below to the w. There is a cadastral survey rujm on the top of the hill of Miryamîn, which is 360 m. above sea level. There are numerous cistern-caves and rockcut cisterns on the site, which is further marked by many fallen building stones. To judge from some of the foundation remains, it seems likely that there was once a Byzantine church on the site. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

f. WÂDĪ el-YÂBIS

Tell ez-Zeitûn (236 b)

A km. s. w. of Miryamîn (231), is Tell ez-Zeitûn (236 b). 522 It is situated about midway between the Wâdī el-Ḥammâm and the Wâdī ez-Zâ', an equally small $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which parallels for some distance the direction of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, which is about a km. to the n. of it, to the e. edge of the Jordan Valley. Tell ez-Zeitûn is merely a rocky hill, with some olive trees growing on it, as reflected by its name, and with no trace whatsoever of any settlement ever having been on it.

Zaharet el-Jûr (236 c)

Somewhat less than half a km. to the s. e.-s. s. e. of Tell ez-Zeitûn (236 b) is Zaharet el-Jûr (236 c). It, too, is nothing but a rocky rise. Between it and Tell ez-Zeitûn are some large dolmens.

Batmet es-Senân (236 a)

On the n. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, at a point 2.25 km. s.e. of Zaharet el-Jûr (236 c), is Baţmet es-Senân (236 a). It is a small, natural rocky rise, on which are some tumble-down dolmens.

⁵²⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 397.

⁵²¹ Bulletin 89, pp. 2-6; 90, pp. 3-4; 91, p. 8.

⁵²² Feb. 20, 1943.

Merzabîlā (236)

Three quarters of a km. to the w.n. w.-n. w. of Baţmet es-Senân (236 a), is Merzabîlā (236), 523 on a small rise in the hilly, partly cultivated country on the n. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis. Near these points, the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Yâbis flows between precipitous slopes of the wâdī. The modern village of Ḥalâweh, on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, is visible 2 km. to the s. s. e.-s. e., on top of its hill, 435 m. above sea level. The site of Deir Ḥalâweh (235), too, can be seen on top of its great hill, 1.75 km. to the s. e.-e. s. e., on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis.

Below the s. w. end of this site is a large dolmen in good condition. Between Merzabîlā and the village of Kufr Abîl to the n. e., there are numerous dolmens, and especially so in the environs of Kufr Abîl.⁵²⁴ The slopes of this site were anciently terraced, as is particularly apparent on its n. side. Intensive search revealed the presence of some Byzantine sherds.

Tell el-Maqlûb (234)

It is nearly 2 km. from Merzabîlā (236) to Kufr Abîl. From Râs Kufr Abîl overlooking its s. end, there is a splendid view over the surrounding countryside. The impressive site of Tell el-Maqlûb (234), 525 (Fig. 80), overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, is visible below it about 2 km. to the s.e. Tell el-Maqlûb is 2.7 km. e.-e. s. e. of Merzabîlā. The precipitous slopes of the Wâdī el-Yâbis made it impossible to proceed directly from Merzabîlā to Tell el-Maqlûb. On the w. side of the large hill of Tell el-Maqlûb, which directly overlooks the perennial stream in the Wâdī el-Yâbis, is a small, dry wâdī, which joins the Wâdī el-Yâbis. The Wâdī el-Yâbis makes a large bend around the garden lands below the base of the hill of Tell el-Maqlûb, curving from the n.e. to the s. w., and then turning to the n. w. in the continuation of its undulating course westward to the Jordan.

The steep slopes which characterize the course of the Wâdī el-Yâbis both above and especially below Tell el-Maqlûb, give way beneath this site to a small, fertile valley, which is irrigated and carefully cultivated. This little valley is less than a km. wide in its greatest dimensions, and is several km. long. Much of its area is planted to grain, as indeed are the top of the hill and the terraced slopes of Tell el-Maqlûb itself. In the valley proper, furthermore, are groves of lemon and fig and pomegranate trees. There are also extensive vineyards in the vicinity.

⁵²⁸ Feb. 19, 1943.

⁶⁸⁴ ZDPV 49, pp. A. 391. 395.

⁸²⁵ ZDPV 48, p. A. 156; 49, p. A. 391.

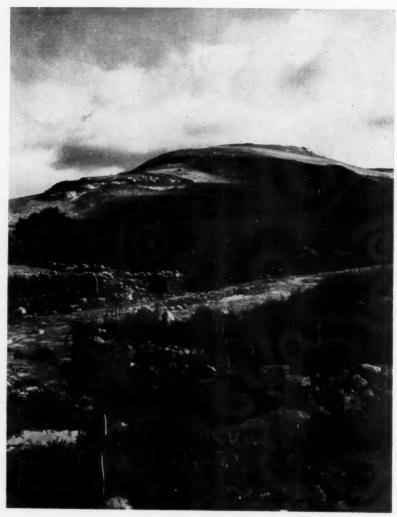


Fig. 80. Tell el-Maqlûb (234).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

The modern road leading from Jerash to Sûf to 'Ajlûn, and from there in the form of a track to Bā'ûn, crosses the Wâdī el-Yâbis (at this point below Tell el-Maqlûb) on its way up to Kufr Abîl, and leads down then gradually from Kufr Abîl to Khirbet Ṭabaqat Faḥil (135), the site of Pella of the Decapolis. 526 This line marks the route of the old Roman Road mentioned by Eusebius, who places Jabesh-gilead six miles from Pella on the road to Jerash (Gerasa). 527 We shall return to this reference in Eusebius later on, in connection with the discussion of our identification of the joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz (159) with the Biblical site of Jabesh-gilead. 528 We believe, as we shall presently attempt to show, that Tell el-Maqlûb should be identified with the Biblical site of Abel-mehôlah. 529

The large, completely cultivated hill of Tell el-Maqlûb, dominating an important road, a fine, perennial stream of water, and good cultivable lands around it affording sources of livelihood to its inhabitants, was occupied from early historical times onwards, with only those gaps or depressions in its sedentary, civilized history, which are generally common to the early civilization of North Gilead. The flattish top of the hill is oriented n. n. e.-s. s. w., and measures about 130 by 24 m. The top of the hill slopes from the n. n. e. to the s. s. w., with the main slope below it being on the s. to s. s. w. sides. The other slopes are steeper, but all of them are cultivated. At the bottom of the s. w. slope and on the s. end of the w. slope is a grove of very old olive trees, some of which might well hark back to the Byzantine period and very possibly to the Roman.

The entire top of the hill was once enclosed within an outer wall, some traces of which still remain. At the s. end of the top of the hill, within the formerly wall-enclosed area, are the remains of an approximately 18 m. square building. There are the remains of a related tower at the n. end. It is impossible to determine without excavations to which period or periods of occupation these towers belong. Their position is in accord with a pattern for the location of towers at either end of a fortified hilltop, which is not uncommon in ancient Transjordan during the Iron Age. The outer wall might belong to the Bronze Age period or to the Iron Age, and not impossibly to both. There are some traces of house-remains within the enclosed area.

Large numbers of sherds of various periods were found, beginning with Early Bronze I. The EB sherds were found all over the site, but particularly

⁵³⁶ Cf. below, pp. 254-257.

⁵²⁷ Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, p. 32, lines 5-7; p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁵²⁸ Cf. below, pp. 214-223. 261-275.

⁵³⁰ Bulletin 89, p. 6; 90, pp. 9-12; 91, pp. 15-17; BA IX: 3, 1946, p. 63.

⁶³⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 17; ANNUAL XIV, p. 52; XV, pp. 43.110, and Pl. 8.22.

on the n. e. slope, where there was a large, unploughed area. Most of the Early Bronze Age sherds belonged to EB I-II, but some of them could have belonged to EB III. There were none which were distinctively EB IV. The next period represented by surface pottery finds was that of the Middle Bronze Age, and particularly that of the first part of MB II, namely MB IIA.⁵³¹ There were also large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, and numerous Roman and Byzantine fragments. There seemed to be an unusually large number of Roman period sherds of terra sigillata ware of the Pergamene type, to which, with very few, if any exceptions, all of the surface sigillata ware we have discovered in Transjordan is to be assigned ⁵³² (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 471-472, and Pl. 64).

The prominence and location of Tell el-Maqlûb by the Wâdī el-Yâbis, coupled with the presence of Iron Age I-II and earlier pottery on it, plus the fact that it is about 6 Roman miles from Pella on the way to Gerasa, 538 would make it a likely candidate for identification with Jabesh-gilead, 534 were it not for several factors, which, in our opinion, rule it out of consideration. The splendid location and pottery of the proper historical periods of the joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz by the Wâdī el-Yâbis are among these factors, and will be discussed in detail below. 535 There, too, will be discussed the comparative remoteness of Tell el-Maqlûb from Beisân, which makes it impossible to square the Biblical evidence concerning the relationship between Beth-shân and Jabesh-gilead with the relative positions of Tell el-Huṣn (Beth-shân) and Tell el-Maqlûb, and all the more so when compared with the relative positions of Tell el-Ḥuṣn and Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz.

Still another factor militating against the identification of Jabesh-gilead with Tell el-Maqlûb, is the fact that news from the Jordan Valley penetrates but slowly and accidentally into the Transjordan highlands, with their comparatively isolated valleys, in one of which Tell el-Maqlûb is located. The inhabitants of Tell el-Maqlûb might not have learned for days what had transpired at Beth-shân with regard to the indecent treatment of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the Philistines. The present-day Arabs in the area of Tell el-Maqlûb know little or nothing of what occurs in Beisân today, while their fellows living in the n. part of the Jordan Ghôr below the Lake of Galilee, learn within a comparatively few hours what happened in this town,

⁵⁸¹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 262-263.

⁵³⁹ Bulletin 65, pp. 10.11; 96, p. 10; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 72.

⁵³³ Eusebius, Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, p. 32, lines 5-7; p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁵³⁴ Cf. below, pp. 268.274, n. 763.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. below, pp. 269-274.

⁵³⁶ I Sam. 31: 8-13.

which has remained continuously important, with various name changes, throughout our knowledge of its history.

And yet another factor must be mentioned here as a reason for not identifying Tell el-Maqlûb with Jabesh-gilead. Even if the report of the Philistine mistreatment of the corpses of Saul and his sons had penetrated to the Early Iron Age settlement of Tell el-Maqlûb, its inhabitants could not possibly have reached Beth-shân (assuming even that they may have started out in the afternoon of the same day), removed the bodies from its city-wall and accomplished the return journey, laden with their heavy burdens, before the end of the night of that day, as we are told in the Bible the men of Jabesh-gilead did in the course of the night.587 It is a good six to seven hours' walk one way from Tell el-Maqlûb to Beisân, traveling light. It would take considerably more time on the way back, burdened with inert bodies or driving pack animals which may have carried them. It is also difficult to conceive that the men of Jabesh-gilead could have contrived the rescue of the bodies from the wall of Beth-shân in the first hours of the night, but must in all probability have had to bide their time till an opportunity presented itself in the later hours of thickest darkness.

If, then, Tell el-Maqlûb is not to be identified with Jabesh-gilead, the problem remains as to what Biblical site may lie buried inside this imposing mound overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis. Our belief is that Tell el-Maqlûb is to be identified with the Biblical site of Abel-meḥôlah. There is, however, not enough evidence available to make us feel as certain that this identification is the only possible one, as we are in the case of the equation of the joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh—Tell Abū Kharaz with Jabesh-gilead.

Abel-meḥôlah has frequently been identified in the past with Tell Abū Sifrī on the w. side of the Jordan. Tell Abū Sifrī is situated by Ain el-Ḥelweh and commands the junction of the Wâdī el-Ḥelweh with the Wâdī el-Ḥalweh with the Wâdī el-Ĥâliḥ, which empties into the Jordan. Abel reports pottery from the end of Late Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age at Tell Abū Sifrī. Alt Alt points out, however, that whatever the reasons may be for attempting to identify Abel-meḥôlah with Tell Abū Sifrī, the lack of a reasonably broad stretch of

 558 Cf. I Kings 19: 16; 4: 12; Judges 7: 22; Bulletin 90, pp. 9-11; 91, pp. 8-9. 16-17; RJ, pp. 167-169.

⁵³⁷ I Sam. 31: 12.

⁵³⁰Cf. Abel, RB X, 1913, p. 224; Géographie . . . II, p. 234; Moore, Judges, p. 212; Burney, The Book of Judges, p. 220; Alt, PJB XXIV, 1928, p. 45; Conder, SWP II, p. 231; Albright (who did not visit the site himself), Bulletin 19, p. 18; ANNUAL VI, p. 44; JPOS V, p. 34.

⁵⁴⁰ Géographie . . . II, p. 234.

⁵⁴¹ PJB XXIV, p. 45.

land in its immediate vicinity militates against its corresponding to the Abelmeḥôlah of I Kings 19:19, where Elisha is pictured as ploughing the land with twelve yoke of oxen. While it is true that some of the land on either side of the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ affords the first possibilities for limited agriculture n. of the Wâdī el-Far'ah (because of the fact that in the stretch between the Wâdī el-Far'ah and the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ the hills on the w. side of the Jordan come down so close to the Zôr of the Jordan, there is little or no land left for cultivation and consequent settlement),⁵⁴² the area around Tell Abū Sifrī does not correspond to the rich agricultural scene in which the Bible places Abelmehôlah.

The common identification of Abel-meḥôlah with Tell Abū Sifrī by 'Ain el-Helweh, overlooking the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ, hails back to the identification by Eusebius of Abel-meḥôlah with Bethmaela, ten (Roman) miles s. of Scythopolis (Beth-shân). This statement by Eusebius may possibly rest in the first place upon a misunderstanding of the corrupt text of Judges 7:22 and I Kings 4:12, and perhaps also on the same type of popular etymology which Conder many centuries later employed in associating Abel-meḥôlah with 'Ain el-Helweh.

If Abel-meḥôlah were to be located after all somewhere in the vicinity of 'Ain el-Helweh, then the only possible way of translating the phrase sefat Abel-Meḥôlah in Judges 7:22 would be "by way of the Zôr (east) of Abel-meḥôlah," as indeed Albright has suggested. 547 But the word śāfah is never

 $^{^{542}}$ Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 450; Alt, PJB XXIV, p. 43; Albright Annual VI, p. 44.

⁵⁴³ Onomasticon, p. 34.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. below, p. 344, n. 951.

⁵⁴⁵ SWP II, p. 231.

⁵⁴⁶ We associate ourselves with Burney, The Book of Judges, p. 220, who, when rejecting the identification of Bethmaela with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh in the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ, says: "There is, needless to say, no philological connection between Ḥelweh and Meḥôlah as Conder (Tent Work, p. 227) seems to suppose; the 'Ain el-Ḥelweh, 'spring of sweet water,' being so called in contrast to the generality of the springs in the Wâdy el-Mâliḥ, 'wâdy of the salt water,' which are salt or brackish. The only argument which can really be advanced in favor of this site is the very slender one that it suits the distance from Beth-she'an as given by Eusebius. But here the resemblance between -maiela and Mâliḥ creates a suspicion that Eusebius may have fallen into error; and that the only ground for his identification was the supposition that some site called Beth-mâliḥ in his day, in the Wâdy el-Mâliḥ, preserved the old name of Meḥôlah." Cf. Moore, Judges, p. 212. Despite all proof to the contrary, Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, pp. 92-93, still maintains the correctness of the identification of the name of Abel-meḥôlah with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh and Wâdī el-Mâliḥ.

⁵⁴⁷ ANNUAL VI, p. 47.

used to mean a $z\hat{o}r$. It does refer at times to the edge and slope of a plateau, marking the descent into a $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$. Thus the position of the city of 'Arô'ër is often described as on the s^cfat Nahal $Arn\hat{o}n$, ⁵⁴⁸ that is, near the edge of the plateau overlooking the stream flowing at the bottom of the deep gorge of the Arnon. In other words, we do not believe that the reference in Judges 7:22 is at all to a location of Abel-mehôlah on the w. side of the Jordan, and that s^cfat Abel-mehôlah must be translated not as "the $Z\hat{o}r$ (east) of Abel-mehôlah," but rather as "the edge (or slope) of the plateau of Abel-mehôlah." Without going into the complicated question of the possibility of two sources in Judges 7:22b, ⁵⁴⁹ we would translate it, although feeling that our reconstruction is imperfect, as follows:

"And the (Midianite) camp fled towards Beth hash-Shittah via Zererah (Zarethan?) and towards the plateau of Abel-meḥôlah overlooking (en route to?) Tabbath."

It appears to us that the verse is trying to say that the Midianites fled across the Jordan Valley, making for the district of Abel-meḥôlah in the hill country on the e. side of the Valley.

It seems to us that the identification of Abel-meḥôlah with any site on the w. side of the Jordan is a mistake for which there is little rhyme or reason except the highly questionable assertion of Eusebius, which is based upon a most doubtful hypothesis. The hitherto generally accepted reconstruction of the corrupt passage of I Kings 4:12,⁵⁵¹ to the effect that Abel-meḥôlah is near (or even opposite) Zarethan, is likewise unsatisfactory, if for no other reason than the simple one that Zarethan is to be located not on the w. but on the e.⁵⁵² side of the Jordan. As we have already indicated above, we feel that the site of Abel-meḥôlah is to be looked for on the e. side of the Jordan, somewhere in the highlands of Gilead, in or near a grape-growing center.

⁵⁴⁸ Deut. 2:36; 4:48; Josh. 12:2; 13:9.16; Ezek. 47:6.7. For the position of 'Arô'er, cf. ANNUAL XIV, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁴⁹ Moore, Judges, pp. 211-212.

the text: "And the camp (of the Midianites) fled to Şartân by way of Bêt has šiţtah (šaţtah?), and to Tabbat by way of the Zôr east of Abel-meḥôlah." There is no archaeological basis for the identification of Tabbat with Râs Abū Tabat (cf. Abel, Géographie... II, p. 474; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 332). Neither can Beth hash-Shiţtah be archaeologically identified as yet (cf. Abel, Géographie... II, p. 273; Robinson, Biblical Researches, II, 1874, p. 356, n. 3; Glueck, Bulletin 90, p. 12.

⁸⁵¹ Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 450; Alt, PJB XXIV, pp. 42, n. 4; 44; Albright, Bulletin 19, p. 18; ANNUAL VI, pp. 44-47; JPOS V, pp. 33-34; Burney, pp. 221-223; cf. below, p. 344, n. 951.

⁵⁵² Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 6-10, 12-14; cf. below, pp. 339-345.

It is perhaps well to pause at this point and examine the relationship of Jabesh-gilead and Abel-meḥôlah to each other, as revealed through the relationship of Elijah and Elisha to each other. The story in I Kings 19:15.16 tells clearly that Elijah was commanded to journey from Horeb towards Damascus, and en route was to anoint Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meḥôlah as prophet in his stead. Actually, at Sinai, Elijah had been enjoined to depart on a threefold mission: to travel to Damascus, where he was to help crown Hazael as king of Syria; in his own country to anoint Jehu as king-to-be of Israel; and finally to consecrate Elisha as his successor. He was able to accomplish only the last of these tasks, it being left to Elisha to complete the first two. 554

There are several important factors which must be considered in connection with the journey that Elijah was instructed to take from Horeb to Damascus, and only part of which he completed. The first is that he himself was a native of the country east of the Jordan, and, secondly, the direct route from Horeb to Damascus would have led him through the region of his native haunts. He is described in I Kings 17:1 as "Elijah the Tishbite, of the toshabē Gilead," which is usually translated as "Elijah the Tishbite, of the sojourners of Gilead." It has never yet been possible to discover a Biblical site which could be identified as Tishbeh, nor do we think one ever will be discovered. In the past, it has been, and at least by one scholar 555 still is, identified with the ruined site of Listib (134), on the premise of a metathesis between the Hebrew Tishbeh and the Arabic el-Istib. There is, as we have pointed out in the discussion of Listib below, 556 not even a remote archaeological basis for this identification, due to the fact that Listib was first established in the Byzantine period. The tradition of Elijah's connection with Listib (134) and the nearby site of Mar Ilyas (133), may possibly rest, however, upon the historical memory of the fact that Elijah was at home in this part of the hill country of North Gilead, in which the beginnings of the Wâdī el-Yâbis are to be found.557

We believe that Elijah was indeed a native of Jabesh-gilead. A small scribal error, we think, as we have already pointed out above,⁵⁵⁸ has crept into the Biblical text, causing much confusion with regard to Elijah's birthplace, although it has always been abundantly clear that he came from the e. side of

⁵⁵³ RJ, p. 169.

⁵⁵⁴ II Kings 8: 7-15; 9: 1-13.

⁵⁵⁵ Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, p. 93, n. 23.

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. pp. 225-226.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. below, pp. 226-227.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. RJ, p. 170.

the Jordan. In a word, instead of his being designated in I Kings 17:1 as "Elijah the Tishbite, of the *toshabē* Gilead," we think he should be called "Elijah the Jabeshite, from Jabesh-gilead."

It is, furthermore, our conviction, as we have pointed out below and elsewhere, 559 that Elijah's at-homeness in North Gilead on the e. side of the Jordan is emphasized by the account in I Kings 17:2-7 of his seeking refuge by the brook Cherith. Continuing the story which commences with the description of "Elijah the Tishbite, of the toshabē Gilead," or, as we would have it, "Elijah the Jabeshite, from Jabesh-gilead," the Biblical narrative reads:

"And the word of the Lord came unto him (Elijah), saying, Get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the Brook Cherith, before (east of) the Jordan. And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook; and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there. So he went and did according to the word of the Lord, dwelling by the brook Cherith, before (east of) the Jordan. And the ravens brought him bread and meat in the morning, and bread and meat in the evening; and he drank of the brook. And it came to pass after a while, that the brook dried up, because there was no rain in the land" (I Kings 17: 2-7).

It is explicitly stated in the text that when Elijah went to hide himself by the Brook Cherith he went eastward. We believe that that must mean towards the desert beyond the broken plateau of Transjordan. The vague phrase describing the location of the Brook Cherith as being "before the Jordan," 500 we can interpret in no other wise than being "east of the Jordan," and as being identified therefore with one of the easternmost branches of the Wâdī el-Yâbis in the highlands of North Gilead. The description of the brook's drying up because of a drought in the land could only apply to one of the small wudyân, which retain rain water for part of the year. They mark the beginnings of such a main wâdī as that of the Wâdī el-Yâbis (Naḥal Jabesh), with its perennial stream. Be that as it may, however, the Brook Cherith is emphatically not to be identified, as for instance by George Moore in his magnificent novel, The Brook Kerith, with the Wâdī Qelt, which descends from below Jerusalem to Jericho, and then across the w. side of the Ghôr to the Jordan.

Even as the locale of the Brook Cherith story seems to underline Elijah's familiarity with the $wudy\hat{a}n$ and hills and desert e. of his home at Jabeshgilead, in whose stretches he had as a youth probably often shepherded his flocks, so the scene of the very last act of his life is laid significantly enough on the e. bank of the Jordan. His leave-taking of Elisha was in the vicinity of his native haunts (II Kings 2: 7-14).

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. p. 227; The River Jordan, pp. 170-172.

⁸⁶⁰ This phrase is translated as "east of the Jordan" by Waterman in J. M. P. Smith: The Old Testament, An American Translation.

The journey then that Elijah was supposed to undertake with its threefold mission from Horeb to Damascus, and only one part of which he was to complete, ⁵⁶¹ led in practically a straight line through Transjordan to the homes of Elisha (assuming as we do that Abel-meḥôlah is in Transjordan) and of Hazael, king of Syria. It is noteworthy in this connection, that when the second of Elijah's tasks on this journey was finally completed by Elisha, namely that of anointing Jehu to be King of Israel, it occurred at Rāmôth-gilead, which we have identified with Tell er-Rāmîth in northern Transjordan, near the Syrian border. ⁵⁶² Elijah, had he continued and completed his mission, could have journeyed directly from Abel-meḥôlah to Rāmôth-gilead and to Damascus.

The first stage of Elijah's journey led him then, we are convinced, to his native haunts near Jabesh-gilead, not far from Abel-meḥôlah, where Elisha was at home, and which, we believe, is to be identified with Tell el-Maqlûb, e. of Jabesh-gilead, and like it overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis (Naḥal Jabēsh). Elijah probably could have found his way from Jabesh-gilead to Abel-meḥôlah (from Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz to Tell el-Maqlûb) almost blindfolded, having most probably traversed the paths between them hundreds of times from his early youth onward.

It is only because of the seeming necessity of removing Abel-meḥôlah from the straight line between Horeb and Damaseus, that some commentators feel that there must be a gap between verses 18 and 19 of I Kings 19, in order to explain the "thence" in verse 19. Having, primarily because of Eusebius' arbitrary fixing of the general position of Abel-meḥôlah, conjured it into existence on the w. side of the Jordan, these commentators must believe, to quote one of them, whose remarks are characteristic, that "the meeting (between Elijah and Elisha) occurred some time after Elijah's return from Horeb; for the route from Horeb to Damascus (I Kings 19:15) would not lead through Abel-meholah." ⁵⁶³

The very name of Abel-mehôlah may possibly be suggestive of the type of countryside in which it may have been situated. Rather than to attempt to find a philologically most improbable association between 'Ain el-Helweh and Abel-mehôlah, it might be well to examine the simple meaning of the name itself without looking for any far-fetched similarities with modern place names. To be sure, such a consideration could at the best give only a tenuous clue to the location of the site, but it is definitely more satisfactory than pursuing

⁵⁰¹ Cf. above, p. 218; II Kings 8: 7-15; 9: 1-12; RJ, p. 169.

⁵⁶² Cf. above, pp. 96-104. 164.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Enc. Bib., II, col. 1276; Benzinger, Die Bücher der Könige, p. 113; Bulletin 90, p. 11.

unscientific philological associations. The name Abel-meḥôlah could be translated as the Dancing Place overlooking (or by) a Perennial Stream.

We accept Albright's interpretation of Abel as meaning not "meadow" but "brook, running stream." ⁵⁶⁴ This is borne out indeed by an examination of every site mentioned in the Bible with the name of Abel or compounded with that name, such as Abel Beth-ma'akah, Abel-Kerāmîm, Abel-miṣraim, or Abel haṣ-Ṣiṭṭîm. ⁵⁶⁵ Thus the site of Abel haṣ-Ṣiṭṭîm must be located by the abel of Ṣiṭṭîm, which we consider to be the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. ⁵⁶⁶ By the same token, Abel-meḥôlah would then be situated by some perennial stream. As we shall point out in more detail below, ⁵⁰⁷ it might possibly be located by the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Qeweilbeh, or rather, as we are more inclined to think, and as we have already suggested above, it is to be located by the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Yâbis. ⁵⁶⁸

To return to the discussion of the mehôlah part of the compound name of the site under discussion, namely Abel-mehôlah: it represented probably a prominent place where sacred and profane communal dances were held. One is reminded of the Benjaminites who hid in the vineyards and seized the maidens of Shiloh when they came out to dance the dances of the grape festival (Judges 21: 20-21). It must always have been the same place where the dances were held to celebrate the ingathering of the grapes and of other harvests. One is reminded furthermore of the defeat which Jepthah inflicted upon the Ammonites, "smiting them from Aroer . . . as far as Abel-kerāmîm (the Site of Vineyards by a Perennial Stream).540 It will be recalled that having returned to his home in Mizpeh in Gilead after defeating the Ammonites, Jepthah led his forces down to Zaphon, on the e. side of the Jordan, 570 where he was compelled to inflict drastic punishment upon the Ephraimites. It is not being suggested that Abel-mehôlah (the Site of Dancing) is to be identified with Abel-kerāmîm (the site of Vineyards), but it is suggested that Abel-mehôlah may well have been much the same type of place as Abelkerāmîm, situated in hilly country, and likewise the center of a region devoted to viticulture. One thinks of just such areas in Transjordan today such as around es-Salt, Nā'ûr, Sweileh, Sûf, and other centers in the hills of Trans-

⁵⁶⁴ The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography, p. 39; Bulletin 89, p. 15, n. 44; 90, p. 11; 91, p. 16.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. below, pp. 222-223; Bulletin 91, p. 16.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. p. 215.

⁵⁶⁰ Judges 11: 32-33.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 11. 19-23; below, pp. 351-352.

jordan where grapes have been grown for probably thousands of years. We are convinced, both because of its being situated directly on the road to Damascus and in a district still given over to the cultivation of the grapevine, as indicated perhaps by its name, that Abel-meḥôlah was located by a perennial stream of water in the rich hill country on the e. side of the Jordan. This perennial stream of water, as we have indicated above and will elaborate below, would be either in the Wâdī el-Qeweilbeh or, preferably, the Wâdī el-Yâbis.

Two sites suggest themselves for consideration in this connection. One is Tell 'Ābil ⁵⁷¹ (58) which, together with the immediately adjacent Tell Umm el-'Amad (58), has been correctly identified by Schumacher ⁵⁷² with the Abila of the Decapolis; the other is Tell el-Maqlûb (234). Tell 'Ābil is some 35 km. n. e.-n. n. e. of Tell el-Maqlûb, and is not far from the Syrian border. It is its name, bearing the modern equivalent of the first part of the compound name of Abel-meḥôlah, plus the fact that it is situated by a fine perennial stream, as well as its being situated on one of the direct roads to Damascus, that evokes consideration of it here.

The perennial stream of water of Wadī el-Qeweilbeh, fed by the splendid spring of 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh, and running through intensively cultivated fields, was the main reason for the location of the great Roman city of Abila overlooking it. 573 There are very large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval-Arabic sherds on the site, but apparently nothing earlier. Nevertheless, we are convinced that somewhere on or in the immediate vicinity of this massive Decapolis site, Iron and Bronze Age pottery are to be found, just as they were discovered in the immediate vicinity of Roman Gerasa. 574 The massive Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval-Arabic settlements built over Tell 'Abil and Tell Umm el-'Amad may have completely obscured all earlier remains. It is possible, therefore, that a prolonged examination will yet reveal the presence of Iron and Bronze Age pottery, just as at Pella (Khirbet Tabaqat Fahil).575 After examining hundreds of sites in Transjordan, the writer is prepared to state almost categorically, that wherever there is such a fine spring as 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh, then somewhere in the vicinity there must be an Iron Age and a Bronze Age site.

The other site, which seems to us most probably to have been that of Abelmeḥôlah is Tell el-Maqlûb, overlooking the perennial stream in the Wâdī el-Yâbis. In addition to the advantages of its physical location,—which, inci-

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 16; above, pp. 125-126.

⁵⁷² Abila, Pella, and Ajlun, p. 47.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Schumacher, op. cit., pp. 9-51.

⁵⁷⁴ Bulletin 75, pp. 22-29.

⁵⁷⁵ ANNUAL VI, p. 39; PEFQS 1934, p. 31; above, pp. 254-257.

dentally, is about 7 km. e.-e. n.æ. of the joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz,—its surface pottery finds indicate the proper periods of occupation in Biblical times, as has already been noted above. The beautiful little valley below Tell el-Maqlûb could be the same as the one in which Elijah found Elisha when he came to see him. It will be recalled that Elijah found Elisha ploughing the fields with twelve yoke of oxen. When the writer visited Tell el-Maqlûb, the fellahîn were engaged in ploughing the lands on both sides of the splendid perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Yâbis below it, and were employing, all told, about a dozen yoke of oxen. This is not cited as a proof for the identification of Tell el-Maqlûb with Abel-meḥôlah, but the absence of such a cultivable area where twelve yoke of oxen could be driven, in accordance with the Biblical account, would seriously militate against considering Tell el-Maqlûb in this connection, as it is indeed one of the factors for not considering Tell Abū Sifrī on the w. side of the Jordan for identification with Abel-meḥôlah. Str

It is noteworthy that Tell el-Maqlûb is but a very short distance removed from the modern Arabic village of Kefr Abîl, which was also intensively occupied in the Hellenistic-Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods.⁵⁷⁸

Deir el-Halaweh (235)

Less than 1.5 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Tell el-Maqlûb (234), located on the summit of the ridge overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis from the s., is the site of Deir el-Ḥalâweh (235).⁵⁷⁹ It commands from the s. the descent to the crossing of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, whose banks at this point, as we have seen above, broaden out on either side, and are planted to grain in season, and are green with irrigated gardens and groves of fruit trees. From its splendid vantage point, at 506 m. above sea-level,⁵⁸⁰ it not only overlooks Tell el-Maqlûb far below, but also overlooks the modern village of Ḥalâweh, 435 m. above sea level, which is less than 1.5 km. away from it to the s. w.-s. s. w. In the distance, to the s. e., the great landmark of Qal'at er-Rabad stands out on the horizon. Numerous other sites can be seen from it, among others, the modern village of Auṣarah, 2.5 km. to the s. e.-e. s. e. There is a magnificent view over much of the Jordan Valley and central and northern Palestine.

The ruins of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic settlements mark

577 Cf. above, p. 215; Bulletin 90, pp. 10, n. 43; 11, n. 46.

⁵⁷⁶ Сf. pp. 213-214.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Richmond, PEFQS 1934, p. 19; Steuernagel, Der 'Adschlun, ZDPV 49, 1926, pp. A. 395-396.

⁵⁷⁰ Bulletin 91, p. 8; ZDPV 48, pp. A. 337-338.

⁵⁸⁰ ZDPV 48, p. A. 337.

the site of Deir el-Ḥalâweh, which is a comparatively large one. There are numerous fallen building stones and worn capitals of the Roman and Byzantine periods, rock-cut bell-cisterns, and one large, square cistern, with steps leading down to it. Byzantine sherds served as binding material in the coatings of lime plaster employed to make it water-tight. Basins were cut out of the rock. Below the summit of the hill, on the e. side, are the remains of a very large dolmen field, with remnants of a dolmen field also on the n.w. side. There are also numerous dolmens between this site and the village of Ḥalâweh. Large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds of all kinds were found. On the steep ascent from the Wâdī el-Yâbis, we passed several rock-cut burial shafts.

Mainly because Eusebius ⁵⁸¹ located Jabesh-gilead 6 miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa, which would place it just about in the immediate vicinity of the crossing of the Wâdī el-Yâbis between Tell el-Maqlûb (234) and Deir el-Ḥalâweh (235), and also because of the fact that the Biblical site of Jabesh-gilead has long properly been sought somewhere along the Wâdī el-Yâbis, it has been assumed that Jabesh-gilead should be located at either one of these two sites, ⁵⁸² or more specifically either at Tell el-Maqlûb, ⁵⁸³ or at Deir el-Ḥalâweh. ⁵⁸⁴ As noted above, we shall reserve the full discussion of these various possibilities till the joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz (159) has been considered. It is immediately obvious, however, that the site of Deir el-Ḥalâweh, despite the splendid position it occupies overlooking the crossing of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, cannot come into consideration for identification with Jabesh-gilead, because of the fact that there was no settlement there in historical times earlier than the Roman period.

Kerkemeh (165)

Situated on a low rise in a small plain, about 4.75 km. w. s. w. and below the village of Ḥalâweh, in the first range of hills e. of the Ghôr of the Jordan, is the site of Kerkemeh (165).⁵⁸⁵ A tiny modern settlement is located there, with the new stone houses built of stones quarried for the most part from the sub-surface foundations of the ancient ruins on the site. This site is about a km. s. of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, which is quite narrow and steep near this point.

⁵⁸¹ Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁵⁸² ANNUAL VI, p. 41, n. 86; ZDPV 48, p. A. 156; 49, p. A. 391.

⁵⁸⁸ M. Naor, Jabesh-gilead, Abel-Mehola, and Zaretan, BJPES XIII: 3-4, Apr.-Sept. 1947, pp. 89-92; Selah Merrill, East of the Jordan, p. 440.

⁵⁸⁴ Robinson, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, ed. 1856, p. 319; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 156; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 352.

⁵⁸⁵ Dec. 14, 1942.

Numerous Byzantine and mediaeval-Arabic sherds were found on the slopes of the small rise. From the top of the rise, looking to the n. w., one could see some of the n. part of the Ghôr. From Kerkemeh we moved over rough ground to Zaharet Abī Nejâd, about three quarters of a km. to the w. n. w., and thence another three quarters of a km. n. n. w.-n. w. to Zaharet Abū Jamal, directly overlooking the narrow and steep Wâdī el-Yâbis. There were no sherds of any kind at these last two places. From there we descended steeply to the mouth of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, with the hillsides on either side of it falling down rapidly to the e. side of the Jordan Valley.

Listib (134)

About a km, s, of the Wadi el-Masquf, which is the name of part of one of the easternmost branches of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, and near the very top of one of the highest parts of the western watershed of North Gilead, is the site of Listib (134), 586 860 m. above sea level. 587 The Wâdī el-Masqûf first comes into being, little more than a km. to the e. of Listib, under the name of the Wâdī Sha'al. In its further course w., this wâdī passes below the village of Ausarah, while turning n. n. w.-n. w. to join, under the name of the Wadī 'Abd el-'Azîz, the Wâdī el-Yâbis, Listib is 3 km, s. e.-e. s. e. of Ausarah, and about 5 km. n. w. of the town of 'Ajlûn. There is a large number of much ruined houses and other buildings on and around the hillock on which Listib is located. Most of them would seem to belong to the mediaeval-Arabic period and later. They include the ruins of a mosque. Among them, however, were numerous stones, which obviously stemmed from earlier Byzantine buildings on the site, among them fragments of Byzantine capitals. Near the s. e. side of this site, are the remains of what appears to be a Byzantine church. Regular streets or alleys could be discerned among the rubble. Many, if not all of the ruined houses, seemed to have their own rock-cut cisterns. Below the e. side of the village, there is a small reservoir, which seems originally to have served as a quarry. Very large numbers of mediaeval-Arabic sherds of all kinds, as well as numerous earlier Byzantine sherds, were found.

There is a theory that Listib is to be identified with the Tishbeh, mentioned in I Kings 17:1, where it refers to Elijah the Tishbite of the toshabē Gilead, which we, however, would slightly emend and translate as Elijah the Jabeshite of Jabesh-gilead. The Listib-Tishbeh theory is based on the suggestion of a

⁵⁸⁶ October 31, 1942; ZDPV 48, pp. A. 327-329; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 486; McCown, Bulletin 39, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁵⁷ Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 327, and Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 486, give a height of 802 m.

⁵⁸⁸ RJ, p. 160; cf. above, p. 218.

metathesis occurring between the Hebrew *Tishbeh* and the Arabic *el-Istib.*⁵⁸⁹ There is, in addition, the popular association of the name of Elijah with the vicinity of Listib, as evidenced in the name of Mâr Ilyâs (133), about half a km, to the s. e. of Listib.

When Père Abel gathered the materials for his magnificent volumes on Géographie de la Palestine, it was frequently necessary, in view of the lack of definite archaeological evidence, to posit the identification of a Biblical site with a likely sounding name, in what could be assumed to be the more or less generally correct area. That was a hit-and-miss method, still at times unfortunately employed, with, on the whole, more errors than hits being chalked up, as evidenced, in those instances where it has been possible, as in the instance of Listib, to examine the sites in question, and weigh the evidence. 500 There is absolutely no evidence whatsoever that there was any Iron Age occupation of Listib, and indeed all the evidence seems to point to the fact that the site was first established in the Byzantine period, It would, however, not surprise us to learn through excavations, that there was also evidence of a Roman period settlement there. To persist, therefore, in the identification of Tishbeh with Listib, on the basis of the criteria available a generation ago, as has recently been done, is to perpetuate a methodology which is demonstrably unscientific.591

Mâr Ilyâs (133)

About half a km. to the s. e. of Listib (134), is the site of Mâr Ilyâs (133), located on a high, isolated, partly wooded hill, with terraced slopes. It is still higher, by some 92 m., ⁵⁹² than the site of Listib. The two sites are separated from each other by a small, rudely cultivated valley, with partly wooded heights, marked mostly by scrub oak, rising around them on all sides except the w. side. There is a magnificent view w. from Mâr Ilyâs over much of the Jordan Valley, and indeed over much of Palestine as far as Mt. Carmel. There are foundation ruins of various buildings on the top and sides of the hill, with parts of the outlines of what seems to have been a Byzantine church on the top of the hill. Inside of the church-complex is a large cistern. Numerous fine and coarse mosaic squares are strewn about. On the n. w. side of the top of the hill is a tremendous cistern, apparently still more or less serviceable, with a fine stone cover, in which an aperture was cut for the drawing out of water, and a small one for letting water run in. Numerous building stones,

 $^{^{580}}$ Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 486; Naor, BJPES XIII, p. 97, n. 23; cf. above, p. 218. 580 Bulletin 91, pp. 14-15. 23-26.

⁵⁹¹ Naor, BJPES XIII, p. 93, n. 23.

^{**}Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 327; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 486; McCown, Bulletin 39, pp. 23, 26.

including Byzantine capitals, were scattered around the site, particularly on the top. Most of the ruins seemed to stem from the Byzantine period, although some of them, particularly some fragments of mosaic floors seemed to go back to the Roman period. Numerous Byzantine, as well as some earlier Roman sherds, were found.

The tradition of the connection of the prophet Elijah with this site is testified to above all by its name, Mâr Ilyâs. It would not surprise us at all, if excavations of the Byzantine church ruins at Mâr Ilyâs were to yield definite evidence, that as early as the Byzantine period, this site had been associated with the personality of Elijah. Veneration for the spirit of Nebī Ilyâs safeguards a small grove of scrub oak on top of the hill from being cut down.

The connection of the name of Elijah with these two sites of Mâr Ilyâs and Listib, may possibly have some faint connection with happenings in the life of Elijah, who was very much at home in the valleys and hills of North Gilead. It is our conviction, that when Elijah sought refuge by the Brook Cherith (I Kings 17:2-7), he hied himself to the wilds of North Gilead, with which he was probably thoroughly familiar. We like to think, in view of the suggested connection of Elijah with the site of Jabesh-gilead, as will be pointed out below, that the Brook Cherith is to be located among the eastern beginnings of the Wâdī el-Yâbis.⁵⁹³ When we visited Mâr Ilyâs, a young, wild looking, long-haired goatherd, with a long shepherd's crook, drove his goats on to the top of the hill. Such, we thought, might have been the appearance of Elijah himself, as he roamed the hills of North Gilead in his youth.

'Ain Mehnā (40)

Wherever possible, on the slopes of the rugged hills of the entire Jebel 'Ajlûn district, and on the tops of some of them also, and in the cleared little valleys in between, agriculture has been engaged in from earliest historical times on. Even though in some of the areas of the Jebel 'Ajlûn district, the extent of the forests and the density of the trees still remind one of the conditions that existed there at the time of Absalom (II Samuel 18:9),⁵⁹⁴ there is sufficient archaeological evidence available to demonstrate, beyond all possibility of doubt, the existence there of early, sedentary, agricultural civilizations. It would be correct to say, however, that settlements of various periods of these civilizations were not as numerous in the Jebel 'Ajlûn as in other parts of the highlands of North Gilead.⁵⁹⁵ One of these early settlements is represented by that of 'Ain Meḥnā (40).⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁰⁸ RJ, pp. 170-172; cf. above, p. 219.

⁸⁰⁴ RJ, pp. 96.97.

⁵⁰⁵ Bulletin 92, p. 15; above, p. 102.

⁵⁹⁶ June 24, 1942; Bulletin 92, p. 15; above, p. 102; ZDPV 48, p. A. 325.

'Ain Meḥnā is about 3.2 km. e.-e.n. e. of Listib (134), and 3.5 km. n. of the large modern village of 'Ajlûn (129). It is on the lower part of a terraced, cultivated slope leading down n. to the tiny Wâdī Meḥnā, with a similar slope rising above the n. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\iota}$. The Wâdī Meḥnā, which commences less than 2 km. to the e.-e. s. e. of this point, and which in its continuation passes below the n. side of the height on which the modern village of Bā'ûn is located, finally, after undergoing various name changes, joins the Wâdī el-Yâbis.

The strong spring of 'Ain Meḥnā has been enclosed in recent times in a spring-house, with its water gushing strongly through pipes into a trough. It is the source of water supply for the tiny village of Meḥnā (39 b), ⁵⁹⁷ less than half a km. above it to the n. e., on the slope leading up beyond the n. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{t}$, and for the small collection of houses at et-Ṭiyârah (39 a), ⁵⁹⁸ still higher on the slope, about half a km. to the n. e. above Meḥnā (39 b). On the s. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{t}$, at the top of the slope, and to the s. w. above the spring, is the small cluster of houses known as Eshtafein, or Eshtafeinah (39 c).

The flocks from the entire vicinity of 'Ain Meḥnā are watered at this fine, perennially flowing spring. As a result, the land around it, and the lower part of the slopes on both sides of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, have been trampled for long periods into fine dust by the herds that gather there. It is, consequently, extremely difficult to find any sherds by the spring, or on the lower parts of the slopes leading down to it. Nevertheless, on the slopes leading up above the e. and n. e. sides of the spring, we found some absolutely clear EB I-II sherds, including one fine, large, intact, semi-elliptical, EB I ledge-handle. Among the sherds found, was one MB I face-combed fragment. Several of the sherds seemed to belong to MB II, and there were some Iron Age I-II sherds found on the slopes above the spring. All of the sherds were exceedingly worn. There were also some Roman, and Byzantine, and a few mediaeval-Arabic fragments. The clearest of all the sherds found were those belonging to EB I.

There were no traces that we could find, showing where the buildings belonging to the settlements of the various periods indicated by the pottery finds, were located. The tiny village of Meḥnā (39 b), and the houses of et-Ţiyârah (39 a) and of Eshtafeinā (39 c) may be built over some of them. 599 Of course, the comparatively long slopes above 'Ain Meḥnā, near the bottom of which EB I-II sherds were found, remind one of the locations of a number of other EB 1-II sites, which seemed to have a distinct preference for cultivable slopes in the neighborhood of a spring. The presence of these and other sherds by 'Ain Meḥnā, underlines again what may be considered

⁵⁹⁷ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 324. 325.

⁸⁹⁸ ZDPV 48, p. A. 325.

⁵⁰⁰ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 324. 325.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. above, p. 186, n. 456.

axiomatic not only in Transjordan, but in the entire ancient Near East, that wherever there is or once was a good spring, there ancient settlements can almost always be found. The significance of the existence of such a settlement as that of 'Ain Meḥnā, lies particularly in the fact that it demonstrates the strength and elasticity of the predominantly agricultural civilization of which it was a part. This civilization could find a foothold even in areas where agriculture had to play a secondary role in the economy of a particular region.

Umm el-Menābî (39)

Almost 2 km. n. e.-e. n. e. of 'Ain Meḥnā (40), and about a km. e. n. e. of eṭ-Ṭiyârah (39 a), is the site of Umm el-Menābî' (39), 601 on top of one of the highest hills of the entire Jebel 'Ajlûn. It was a continuous climb from 'Ain Meḥnā to eṭ-Ṭiyârah to Umm el-Menābî', through thick stands of largely scrub oak and pines. The very top of the hill is given over partly to vineyards and to a small amount of additional cultivation. There is a breath-taking view over practically all of the Jebel 'Ajlûn from this vantage point. Qal'at er-Rabaḍ is clearly visible to the s. w.

We found a single wretched, modern one-room, stone house on the very pinnacle of the hill. It had obviously been built over the foundations of part of a Byzantine church, with the floor of the single room consisting of a magnificent mosaic. Some of its figures and inscriptions were visible even in the gloom of the house, and despite the lavers of dirt which covered most of the expanse of the mosaic. My notes with regard to this most important mosaic are extremely sketchy, because at the time I had the definite assurance from a representative of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, that the mosaic floor would be lifted and transported to 'Amman, where it could be studied at leisure. I therefore decided to spare myself the agony of crawling about in a flea-infested room in semi-darkness, and took only the briefest notes, after having had some water thrown on the floor so that, at least, I could get an idea of some of the main features of the mosaic. The floor was actually lifted a short time thereafter, but the person sent to do the job bungled it so hopelessly, that about all that is left of it are thousands of small, loose mosaic squares in some boxes, shaken out of their order in utter confusion. It were impossible, to judge from the account of the condition of these mosaic stones, as reported to me, to make any attempt to restore the mosaic floor to anything like its original form. My hurried notes remain the only record of the general nature and of some of the main features of this mosaic floor. Inasmuch as the modern stone house was obviously built over only part of the mosaic floor, excavations might possibly reveal some fragments of it beyond the house, or

⁶⁰¹ June 22, 1942; ZDPV 48, p. A. 325.

might reveal other mosaic floors in the immediate vicinity of this one, which would also be of great interest.

The central feature of this mosaic floor was the depiction of a Nilometer! At the s. w. corner of the floor was the representation of a Byzantine church, measuring 1.20 by .75 m., with the legend $\mathsf{E}\Gamma\mathsf{Y}\Pi\mathsf{T}\mathsf{E}\omega$... by its lower, right side. At the n. w. corner was the figure of a squatting man, 1.20 m. high, his left hand outstretched between two flowers (?), with the legend NIL ω C over the left side of his head. In the center of the mosaic floor was a representation of a Nilometer, 1.30 m. high, standing on a base which was .35 m. wide and .23 m. high. Its total height thus was 1.53 m. The pillar was divided off into 4 sections, each labeled in the center, beginning from the bottom, as follows: $1 A, 1 B, 1 \Gamma, 1 \Delta$. At the s.e. corner, in what was obviously an anciently repaired section of the mosaic, was visible the hand of a man, and near the center of the s. side was the representation of a hand holding a spear.

This Nilometer mosaic at Umm el-Menābî would seem to be closely related to the Byzantine one represented on the mosaic floor of the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabghah. One is reminded of the Nilometer, actually used for the measuring of the height of water, discovered in the reservoir at el-Muwaqqar (309), some 23 km. s. e. of 'Ammân. The sherds found at Umm el-Menābî' were largely Byzantine, but included also some mediaeval Λrabic pieces.

Meḥnā (39b)

On the hillside above 'Ain Mehnā (40), about half a km. to the n.e. of it, is Mehnā, also called Khirbet Mehnā (39b), 604 situated among thickets of scrub oak and pine. It consists of a small number of small, poor, modern stone houses, which have been built among earlier ruins, some of which probably go back to the Byzantine period. It is possible that still earlier ruins may be buried under them. The modern houses have been constructed largely of building materials quarried from the earlier foundation-ruins.

oo Schneider, The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes, p. 62, and Pl. B. 14, 15; Phythian-Adams writes in his article on Aiguptos: A Derivation and some Suggestions in JPOS II, 1922, p. 94, "To the Greeks the Valley and Delta of the Nile were known by the collective name of Aiguptos. In Homer the word is generally applied to the Nile itself, the name Neilos appearing for the first time in Hesiod."

QDAP XII: 3-4, pp. 70-72; Mayer, Note on the Inscription from al-Muwaqqar, QDAP XII: 3-4, pp. 73-74, and Pl. XXIII; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two, pp. 290-307.

⁰⁰⁴ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 324-325.

et-Tiyârah (39 a)

About half a km. to the n.e. of Meḥnā (39 b), and still higher up on the hillside, but below Umm el-Menābî (39), is eṭ-Ṭiyârah (39 a), 605 situated, like Meḥnā, in a thickly wooded area. It consists of a number of featureless ruins, some of which may well go back to the Byzantine period. Byzantine and some mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. Several of the cisterns there probably also go back to the Byzantine period.

g. WÂDĪ KUFRINJEH

'Ajlûn (129)

The location of the attractive town of 'Ajlûn (129), 606 was originally determined by the presence of a powerful spring,—now contained in a springhouse, with its waters led through proper pipes. The town is set in a hollow, among wooded and partly cultivated heights, with the Wâdī ez-Zeid (Wâdī 'Ajlûn) immediately below its s. side. The Wâdī ez-Zeid, one of the tributaries of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, rises several kilometers to the e. n. e. of 'Ajlûn, at a point about a km. e.-e. n. e. beyond and above the village of 'Ain Jenneh. 'Ain Jenneh is 870 m. above sea level, compared to the 760 for 'Ajlûn, and 995 for Qal'at er-Rabad, which is 2 km. to the w. s. w.-s. w. of 'Ajlûn. The Wâdī en-Naḥleh, which rises about a km. to the n. w. of 'Ajlûn, is another of the tributaries of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh.

The development of the town of 'Ajlûn, with its buildings and streets, has effectively removed all surface remains of the ancient settlements, which once must have sprung up there, attracted by the strong spring. Indeed, complete pieces of pottery have been published, allegedly coming from 'Ajlûn, 607' which must be assigned to EB I.608 It would surprise us greatly, if sooner or later some building operations at 'Ajlûn did not uncover further evidence of EB I occupation of the site, and of other phases of EB also, as well as evidence of other Bronze Age and Iron Age periods of occupation, aside from still later periods.609

A part of the undoubtedly early prominence of 'Ajlûn is due to its being the center of an extensive iron mining and smelting and manufacturing district. Many of the very streets of 'Ajlûn, and some of the roads branching

⁶⁰⁵ ZDPV 48, p. A. 324.

⁶⁰⁶ October 31, 1942.

⁶⁰⁷ TG I, p. 154, and Pl. 61. 64; Bulletin 91, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁸ Wright, PPEB, p. 61.

⁶⁰⁰ Bulletin 92, p. 15.

out from it, have been paved with iron ore slag obtained in its immediate vicinity. The road starting out from 'Ajlûn to 'Anjarah (129 a), 610 is cut in part through some very large iron ore slag heaps; and long stretches of the road between these two points, three km. apart, are paved with slag. Iron-ore slag heaps can be found all over the eastern and southern slopes of the hill of Qal'at er-Rabad, 2 km. away to the w. s. w.-s. w. Much of this slag may have resulted from the smelting of iron ore in the mediaeval-Arabic period. 611 I have previously described the iron mines of Mugharet el-Wardeh, about 12.5 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of 'Ajlûn, near the s. edge of the Jebel 'Ajlûn. 612 I had pointed out in that connection, that there were no slag heaps in the vicinity of Mugharet el-Wardeh, and that the ores must have been brought elsewhere for smelting. 'Ajlûn may have been one of the main places to which these ores were transported for smelting, and for the working up of the iron produced into finished metal products.

There are undoubtedly other sources of iron ore much closer to the site of 'Ajlûn, itself. The iron ores of the Jebel 'Ajlûn were probably the source materials for the smelting and refining of iron ore that went on in the Kikkar hay-Yardēn. We found several pieces of slag on Tell Deir'allā there. ⁶¹³ The extensive forests of the Jebel 'Ajlûn furnished the fuel, in the form of charcoal, which still is extensively produced there, necessary for the smelting and manufacturing operations.

Qal'at er-Rabad (129b)

By far the most impressive site in the Jebel 'Ajlûn, is the great castle of Qal'at er-Rabaḍ (129 b), 2 km. w.s. w.-s. w. of 'Ajlûn (129). It crowns a high knoll, 995 m., at the w. end of a projecting shoulder of the main 'Ajlûn range, and is surrounded by a rock-cut fosse. It commands a wonderful view of much of the length of the Jordan Valley, and of the Palestine hills beyond from Jerusalem to Safed, and, more directly, of the slopes in Transjordan leading down to the Jordan Valley, which are intersected by the Wâdī Râjeb, the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, and the Wâdī el-Yâbis. Work on the great castle was begun by one of Saladin's Emirs in 1184-5,614 with various additions and repairs made during the course of a number of subsequent centuries. The great south tower was probably completed 1214-15 for el-Malik el-Mu'azzam.615 The castle was surrendered to the Mongols in 1260 A.D., who apparently severely damaged it.616 The damage is believed to have been repaired shortly

⁶¹⁰ ZDPV 48, p. A. 313.

⁰¹¹ QDAP I, p. 30.

⁶¹² ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 237-238.

⁶¹³ Bulletin 90, p. 13.

⁶¹⁴ QDAP I, p. 23; RJ, pp. 96-98.

⁶¹⁵ QDAP I, p. 27.

⁶¹⁶ QDAP I, pp. 32-33.

thereafter by Sultan Baybars.⁶¹⁷ The castle continued to be occupied till as late as the 19th century A. D. by Ibrahim Pasha.⁶¹⁸ Aside from some early worked flints found on the partly cultivated slopes of the high hill on which it stands, the only sherds found belonged to the mediaeval-Arabic period. In view of the comparatively complete descriptions by others,⁶¹⁹ there is no necessity of our dwelling further upon this splendid site (Fig. 81.82).

es-Sālûs (130)

About 1.5 km. to the n.e.-e. n.e. of 'Anjarah (129 a), is eṣ-Ṣālûs (130). It is on top of a fairly high hill, whose rather steep slopes are given over for the most part to vineyards. There is a considerable amount of viticulture in this hilly, wooded region, for which indeed it is much better adapted than for any other type of agriculture. It overlooks from the n. the tiny Wâdī eṣ-Ṣālûs, and 'Ain eṣ-Ṣālûs below it. The Wâdī eṣ-Ṣālûs joins the Wâdī Zeid to form the Wâdī 'Ajlûn, which is one of the tributaries of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. The sites of 'Anjarah and 'Ajlûn and Qal'at er-Rabaḍ are visible from this hilltop. Foundations and walls of roughly cut blocks are visible, with very numerous Byzantine and mediaeval-Arabic sherds among them, and on the slopes of the hill, and around its base.

Khirbet Ḥamîd (131)

About half a km. to the s. w. of eṣ-Ṣālûs (130), on top of a hill between it and 'Anjarah, is Khirbet Ḥamîd (131), consisting of a small number of foundation ruins, with numerous Roman, and Byzantine, and some mediaeval-Arabic sherds among them, and on the slopes of the hill. Among the Roman period sherds, were numerous fragments of terra sigillata of the Pergamene type. This terra sigillata is found on almost every site where Roman sherds occur. The flattish top of the hill is, wherever possible, planted to grapevines.

h. WÂDĪ RÂJEB

Shemsin (132)

Situated on a high, largely wooded hill, the lower slopes of which are planted to grapevines, is the site of Shemsîn (132), 2.5 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of 'Anjarah, and 3.8 km. e. s. e.-s. e. of Kufrinjeh. It has a very high elevation above sea level, namely 1030 m., between the beginnings of two of the westernmost branches of the Wâdī Râjeb wâdī-system, namely the Wâdī Shemsîn to the n.

⁶¹⁷ QDAP I, p. 32.

e18 RJ, pp. 96-98.

⁶¹⁰ Johns, QDAP I, pp. 23-33; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, pp. A. 309-310.



Fig. 81. Mediaeval Arabic castle of Qal'at er-Rabad (129 b). (Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 82. Qal'at er-Rabaḍ. (Phot. Palestine Archaeological Museum).

and w., and the Wâdī esh-Sheqâq to the s. and e., which join together to form the Wâdī el-Hawâsheh, which, in turn connects with other branches,—all of which, combined, form the Wâdī Râjeb, which empties into the Jordan. There are some much ruined foundations of several houses visible on top of the hill, and some rock-cut shaft tombs and terrace walls on its sides. There are also some shaft tombs on the top of the hill. There were large numbers of Byzantine sherds, and some mediaeval-Arabic sherds.

We have previously reported briefly on a number of similar sites located in the rugged, wooded hill country, cut up by the beginnings of other branches of the Wâdī Râjeb. Among them are the sites of Khirbet el-Ḥeneish, Khirbet es-Suweidîyeh, Serābîs, and Ḥazâr; and also several sites which are on the watershed between the northeasternmost beginnings of the Wâdī Râjeb and the northwesternmost beginnings of the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq), namely the sites of Khirbet el-Ḥawaiyeh, Khirbet el-Eqra*, and Râs el-Eqra*. In none of these sites was there any occupation before the Roman period, and the history of settlement in these parts of the high, rugged, broken, wooded hill country extended, apparently, only between the Roman and the mediaeval-Arabic periods. Traces of much earlier settlements may yet be found even in these particular sections, corresponding to other discoveries in the Jebel 'Ajlûn and elsewhere in the highlands of North Gilead.

V. THE JORDAN RIVER VALLEY

In the preceding pages, we have treated the highland antiquity sites along-side of and in between the eastern tributaries of the Jordan. Some of the places mentioned were, to be sure, located in or on the edge of the Jordan Valley proper. In the following discussion, we prefer to place the Jordan Valley sites under a separate rubric, even though they could be listed in accordance with their relationship to the valley passage of the eastern tributaries en route to the Jordan River. The reason for our procedure stems from an attempt to discuss the antiquity sites according to their location in distinctive watershed and drainage areas. The Jordan River Valley certainly forms a major division in this category. A different treatment would require the grouping of the sites not according to geographical but rather according to historical divisions.

The archaeological exploration of the Jordan Valley by the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, concerned itself with antiquity sites in the Ghôr and the Zôr of the Jordan, and particularly, although not exclusively, with those sites in the e. half of the Jordan Valley, from the Lake of Galilee southward (Fig. 83). No attempt will be made in this volume to deal with the northern sources of the Jordan River or with the ancient sites located by them.

Most of the antiquity sites examined by the ASOR expeditions, were located in the upper main level of the Jordan Valley, called in Arabic the $Gh\hat{o}r$, "depression," rather than in the narrow, lower one, called in Arabic the Zôr, "thicket," through which the river proper flows. There is as much as 50 m. difference in height between the two levels. Separating them, and marking the transition from the one to the other, are serrated, grayish marl hills, known under the generic term of $qatt\hat{a}rah$ in Arabic, which sustain no vegetation. 622

The name most commonly employed in the Bible to describe the upper, main part of the Jordan Valley is kikkar hay-Yardēn, 628 the "encircled Jordan Valley." The Valley is enclosed for its total length by high hills on either side. Sometimes, sections of the Valley are referred to as 'ēmea, 624 that

⁶²¹ Cf. RJ, 1946, pp. 1-35.

⁶²² RJ, pp. 59-73; Smith, HGHL, pp. 483-484; Lynch, Official Report of the U. S. Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, p. 21; Ionides, Report on the Water Resources of Transjordan and their Development, p. 138, Pl. 48.

ess Gen. 13: 10.11.12; I Kings 7: 46; Deut. 34: 3.

⁸²⁴ Ps. 60: 8: 108: 8.



Fig. 83. The River Jordan leaving the s.w. end of the Lake of Galilee. The peninsula between the lake and the river marks the location of Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yerah). Directly below it is the agricultural settlement of Dagania, and at the foot of the lake the town of Samakh.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

is, the "deep valley," or as biq'ah, 625 the "opening out," or "fissure," or as 'arabah, 626 the "plain." The narrow, lower level of the Valley, through which the river twists its erratic way, is covered for the most part with dense thickets of oleander, cane, tangled bushes, vines, willows, poplars, and twisted tamarisks. In the Bible, it was known as the ge'ôn hay-Yardēn, 627 which is usually translated as the "pride of the Jordan," and which should be rendered as "the jungle of the Jordan." 628 At some places, however, in the zôr of the Jordan, or in the ge'ôn hay-Yardēn, there are flat sections of fertile land, anciently cleared and cultivated, and marked by ancient settlements. 629

a. EAST SIDE OF THE JORDAN ABOVE WÂDĪ ZERQĀ

Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yerah)

The great, 500 acre site of Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yerah), 630 on the small peninsula at the s. w. end of the Lake of Galilee, between the Lake of Galilee and the first stretch of the Jordan River after its emergence from the Lake of Galilee, has been examined on numerous occasions by members of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem. The sherds found, testified to occupation in the Early Bronze Age, beginning with "band-slip" ware and ending with so-called "Khirbet Kerak ware," 632 i. e., extending from EB I through EB III. 633 No other sherds were found, except those belonging to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, indicating the existence of a great gap in

⁶²⁵ Deut. 34: 3; Josh. 12: 7.

⁶²⁶ Joshua 4: 13; Numbers 22: 1.

⁶²⁷ Jer. 12: 5; 49: 19.

⁶²⁸ R.J. p. 63; cf. The Old Testament: An American Translation, where ge'ôn hay-Yardên in Jer. 12: 5; 49: 19 is translated as "the jungle of the Jordan," by A. R. Gordon.

⁶²⁹ Cf. RJ, pp. 63.69.

⁶³⁶ Cf. RJ, pp. 57-58.

⁶³¹ Cf. Albright, Annual VI, pp. 27-31; Glueck, AJA 1935, 39, pp. 325-330; above, p. 138.

^{**82} ANNUAL VI, p. 28; Bulletin 93, p. 26; 106, pp. 9-10; AJA 1935, 39, p. 329, Fig.
6: 1. 2. 17; note on el-Fakhât, above, p. 143, and Pl. 3-6; PPEB, pp. 72. 73; JAOS, 70: 1, 1950, p. 53.

⁰³⁸ Stekelis and Avi-Yonah, Excavations at Beth-yerah: Second Preliminary Report, BJPES XIII: 1-2, 1946-47, pp. 52-64, and Pl. 1-3; Wright, PPEB, pp. 62. 72. 73; Glueck, AJA 1935, 39, pp. 326-329, and Fig. 5: 8-18; 6: 1. 2. 17; Yigael Sukenik, Bulletin 106, pp. 9-17, and additional references there; Sukenik correctly points out there, p. 12, n. 19, that the Khirbet Kerak type of pot, published in The River Jordan, p. 194, is erroneously ascribed there to Beth-shân, whereas it really comes from 'Affûleh.

the history of the settlement of this site, a break lasting from the end of EB III to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and extending through EB IV, the entire Middle and Late Bronze Ages, and Iron I-II. 634 Excavations conducted there subsequently by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, confirmed almost completely the historical results dealing with the history of occupation of the site, as previously arrived at by gleaning the history-laden fragments of pottery from the surfaces of the great mound. The only new historical result was the uncovering of a still lower level of settlement, belonging to the Late Chalcolithic period. That level has been termed Bethyerah I. Gray and black burnished ware was found in it. Beth-yerah II belonged to EBI, the characteristic pottery being "band-slip" ware. 685 Bethyerah III belonged to EBII, the characteristic pottery being stump-based vessels; this settlement represented only a comparatively short phase of occupation, to judge from the depth of the debris found. Beth-yerah IV belonged to EB III, representing the longest phase of occupation, the characteristic pottery being the beautiful Khirbet Kerak ware. 686 There was no further settlement on the site till the Hellenistic town of Philoteria was established there. 637

Tell Sūwân (137)

On the n. side of the Wâdī el-'Arab, and about a quarter of a km. e. of the Jordan River, is Tell Ṣūwân (137). It is situated on a small knoll, overlooking the small plain to the w. of it, reaching to the Zôr of the Jordan, and overlooking also the comparatively extensive, fertile plain e. of it, reaching between it and the Transjordan foothills. There were no ruins whatsoever on the knoll or below it, but testimony of former occupation was furnished by Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval-Arabic sherds. Several sherds were found, which may belong to the Late Chalcolithic period. One of them had a raised, horizontal, scalloped band on the outer surface.

Tell Abū Qaml (136)

About half a km. to the s. of Tell Şūwân is Tell Abū Qaml (136), consisting of a small mound, on the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Arab. On top of it is

⁶⁸⁴ Albright, Bulletin 57, pp. 29-30; ANNUAL VI, p. 30.

⁰³⁵ Cf. above, p. 138, and discussion there of "band-slip" ware at Tell el-Hammeh (324).

⁶⁸⁶ BJPES XIII: 1-2, 1946-47, pp. 52-64; QDAP XIII: 3-4, pp. 168-170.

OBT Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, p. 180; Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 30; Sukenik, JPOS II, 1922, pp. 101-109.

⁶³⁸ Dec. 7, 1942.

⁶⁸⁹ Bulletin 97, pp. 13-18.

a small Transjordan police-post. There were large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval-Arabic sherds, as well as some Hellenistic ones on and around the slopes of the mound. It is situated in the grounds of the Iraq Petroleum Company Relief Station, through which the I. P. C. oil-pipeline passes on its way across the Jordan River to Haifa.

es-Sāsîyeh (138)

Continuing e. in the Jordan Valley, on the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Arab, 1.7 km. e.n. e.-n. e. of Tell Abū Qaml (136), is es-Sāsîyeh (138). It is marked by the remains of a ruined watermill. Traces of a water channel leading water to it from the Wâdī el-'Arab, from upstream, are visible. Several worked flints were found, and large quantities of sherds of large storage jars of comparatively modern manufacture.

Khirbet es-Sakhîneh (139)

On a hilltop, immediately above the tiny village of es-Sakhîneh, located in the very first rises of the foothills at the e. end of the valley, 3.5 km. e. n. e. of Tell Abū Qaml (136), and a little over a km. s. e.-e. s. e. of es-Sāsîyeh (138), is Khirbet es-Sakhîneh (139). There are numerous caves and Roman-Byzantine tombs on the sides of the natural, tell-like hill, but no house ruins whatsoever. The few houses of the village of es-Sakhîneh, which are used mostly for storage purposes, are probably built over the buildings of the original Roman-Byzantine settlement. Some flints, and Roman and Byzantine sherds, were found on the top and slopes of the hill of Khirbet es-Sakhîneh.

Tell Abū 'Adas (139 a)

The hilltop immediately n.w. of Khirbet es-Sakhîneh (139) is called Tell Abū 'Adas. It is a completely natural hill, with no ruins or even sherds to be found. Several worked flints were found.

Tell el-Medwâr (140)

Near the e. side of the Jordan Valley, 4 km. s. e. of Tell Abū Qaml (136), is Tell el-Medwâr (140). 440 It is a high, more or less circular hill, whose flattish top, measuring 85 by 90 m., and oriented n.-s., was once enclosed by a fortification wall, some traces of which still remain. It is impossible, however, to determine from these wall remains, to which period or periods it is to be assigned. The small Wâdī Kharûb makes a semicircle around the hill from its n. to w. to s. side. The only easy ascent is on the n. e. side. A small plain separates its e. side from the foothills to the e. of it. From the top of Tell

⁶⁴⁰ Dec. 8, 1942; ZDPV 49, p. A. 453.

el-Medwâr, there is a fine view over the fertile valley, descending very gradually to the top of the edge of the Zôr, the lower bed of the River Jordan. On the top of the hill, at its n.e. end, are the ruins of a comparatively modern house.

Numerous sherds were found on the top and slopes of the hill. There was a small quantity of them that belonged to the first part of EB, namely to EB I-II, some which could be assigned to MB IIA, and others in general to MB II, including some typical MB II disc bases and loop-handles. There were also large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, with a predominance of Iron Age II, and quite numerous Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine, and a small quantity of mediaeval Arabic sherds. The periods of largest inhabitation, to judge only from the sherds, would be Iron Age II, and Hellenistic through Byzantine.

Among the Hellenistic sherds were several fragments of Rhodian jar-handles, including one fragment of a stamped Rhodian jar-handle, with part of a stamped seal-impression still visible on it (Fig. 84). What is preserved of the first line reads, in the equivalent of Greek characters, $Th \ E \ S \ M$; and of the second line, the first letter reads A and the second letter G.

As Prof. M. Schwabe of the Hebrew University has suggested to me, the reconstruction of the reading would depend upon whether the first line furnishes the name of the priest or manufacturer and the second the name of the month, or vice versa, with the former order being the customary, although the possibility of the name of the month coming first and of the person coming second must be taken into account, because of the fact that that order has also been attested to.641 If the first line gives the name of a month, then Prof. Schwabe has suggested to me that it might read Th ESM (OFORIOU), with the second line reading AR(XELA) for a personal name, assuming that the second character might be an R and not a G. If, however, the second line is to be read as the name of a month, and the second characters as a G, as we think it should, the resultant name of the month would be A G (R I A N O U). That would require then a different reading than the one suggested by him above for the first line, and it would have to be a personal name. Prof. Schwabe has hesitantly considered the possibility of reading the third character of the first line as an O instead of as an S,-which I consider most unlikely, because the character seems to be an unmistakably clear S-, and suggests then the possibility of the reading of the personal name of TH E O M (BR O T O U).

⁶⁴¹ Preisigke and Bilabel, Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Agypten, III: 1, p. 63, no. 6377.

Tell Seirawân (141)

About a km. n.-n. n. w. of Tell el-Medwâr (140), is Tell Seirawân (141). de It is not a tell at all, but a comparatively flat-topped, rocky outspur of the first main rise of the foothills bordering the e. side of the Jordan Valley. Its sides, with the exception of its e. and s. e. ones, drop almost sheer for some distance to the steep slopes below, leading down to the e. edge of the valley. The top of the outspur rises from the e. to the w. There is a magnificent view from this vantage point over a large part of the n. section of the Ghôr. Some



Fig. 84. Stamped Rhodian jar-handle from Tell el-Medwâr (140).
(Phot. American Schools of Oriental Research).

meager remains of foundation ruins were visible. There were a few Roman, and numerous Byzantine sherds on the site.

Freig'a (142)

Almost immediately e. of Tell Seirawân (141), and separated from it by a small, narrow, steep-sided $w\hat{a}di$, is Freiq'a (142). It is on a narrow bench of land, near the top of the first range of foothills on the e. side of the Jordan Valley. Below Freiq'a to the s., is the spring of 'Ain Freiq'a. Freiq'a is

 $^{^{642}}$ Schumacher, Pella, p. 72; Northern 'Ajlūn, p. 143; Steuernagel, ZDPV, 49, p. A. 453. 648 Pella, p. 72; Northern 'Ajlūn, p. 135; ZDPV 49, p. A. 453.

connected only on its e. side with the slope rising steeply above it, which is pitted with a small number of caves. Higher than Tell Seirawân, it commands an even larger view of the n. part of the Ghôr of the Jordan. There were some nondescript foundation ruins on the site, with numerous Hellenistic through mediaeval Arabic sherds being found among and around them.

Tell el-Qeseibeh (142 a)

About 1.5 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Tell el-Medwar (140), is Tell el-Qeşeibeh (142 a). It is almost half way between Tell el-Medwar and the almost completely ruined site of Waggas, where there are some rude, modern stone houses, inhabited by several poor families. It consists of a knoll, set in a small plain between the first rising foothills on the e. side of the Ghôr. Only on the w. side of the knoll, is there a fairly gradual descent to the floor of the Jordan Valley, a section of which it dominates. A small dip below the s. side leads to a featureless, flat-topped hill, below which is the tiny Wâdī el-Ḥeṣā, which is the continuation of the junction of Wâdī el-Qeşeibeh and the Wâdī Abū el-Ghûl. There were no ruins whatsoever visible on the top or slopes of Tell el-Qeseibeh, but numerous sherds were found, aside from several flint knives. There were some clear MB II sherds among them, but most of the sherds belonged to Iron Age I-II, and particularly to Iron Age II. There were also some Hellenistic sherds, including fragments of Rhodian jar-handles, as well as some Roman and Byzantine sherds. One of the Iron Age sherds had a "tau" incised on it before baking.

Tell Abū el-Haret (148)

Situated on a high, steep, flat-topped hill, 1.3 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Waqqâs, is Tell Abū el-Ḥaret (148).⁶⁴⁴ It is located midway between the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh to the n. and the Wâdī Ziqlâb to the s., the former being clearly visible from it, as well as the cleft of the latter. Shortly below this point, so well located in the lower foothills immediately dominating the Ghôr, the two wudyân turn, respectively n. w. and s. w., to cross the Jordan Valley and empty into the Jordan River. Between this site and the hills rising higher to the e. of it, is a small, cultivable dip. Below this site to the w., are still some descending slopes and hills before the e. edge of the Ghôr is reached. It commands a fine view to Beisân, the Lake of Galilee, and Mount Hermon, as well as over large parts of the Jordan Valley and the hill country of Palestine beyond it to the w.

There are no ruins on the fairly flat top of the hill of Tell Abū Ḥaret, which measures some 30 m. in diameter, but there were some Roman and

⁶⁴⁴ Dec. 10, 1942; Schumacher, Pella, p. 72.

Byzantine sherds, including Roman period terra sigillata, as well as numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds. At the s.e. end of the top of the hill is a large cavecistern, with its inner coatings of lime plaster still largely intact. The fact that these comparatively inhospitable foothills above the Jordan Valley were thoroughly occupied or made use of in Roman-Byzantine, and to a somewhat lesser degree in mediaeval Arabic times, helps point out the general density of population in those periods. Particularly in the Roman and Byzantine periods, even marginal areas were employed for living purposes.

Tell el-Arba'în (144)

In the e. center of the Jordan Valley, 2.4 km. s. w.-s. s. w. of Waqqâş, and about 2 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Tell Abū el-Ḥaret (148), beyond the n. side of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, is Tell el-Arba'în (144). From a quarter to half a km. beyond it to the e. and the s., the perennial stream of the Wâdī Ziqlâb flows s. w.-w. s. w. through a shallow bed to the Jordan. Water is drawn off from the Wâdī Ziqlâb to irrigate part of these lands. The lands e. of Tell el-Arba'în, extending to the foothills, were being ploughed at the time of our visit, while those to the w., extending to the edge of the plain overlooking the Zôr, were being left fallow for the year.

Tell el-Arba'în is a distinctive, rather low mound, with extensive slopes, much of it obviously artificial,—being thus a real tell. The top of the tell is now covered with modern graves, and littered with gravestones, some of which may go back to the Byzantine period. We did not consider it expedient to examine these gravestones more than very cursorily, because of the presence of a number of natives at the time of our visit, who were tenting nearby, and who might have taken our curiosity amiss. It is quite a common custom in the Jordan Valley, as indeed elsewhere in Palestine and Transjordan, for mounds concealing antiquity sites, to be utilized for modern burial places. During our archaeological exploration of the Jordan Valley, it became a fixed part of our procedure to ascertain the whereabouts of modern cemeteries, having learned from experience, that in many instances they were located on ancient sites.

There were several crude mud-brick and stone houses on Tell el-Arba'în, which, however, are used as storage houses rather than dwelling places. The Arabs living in this district and indeed in almost all of the Valley, are still tent-dwellers, who employ animal skins for water containers, when they cannot get hold of the ubiquitous empty five gallon gasoline tins; and they have

⁶⁴⁵ RJ, p. 128.

⁶⁴⁶ Dec. 9, 1942; Steuernagel, ZDPV 49, p. A. 420; Schumacher, Pella, pp. 19.72.

⁶⁴⁷ RB VIII, 1911, p. 422; Schumacher, Pella, p. 71.

completely forgotten the art of making pottery. The ancient inhabitants of Tell el-Arba'in, in their successive periods, built villages largely of mud-brick, one on top of the ruins of the other, and either manufactured pottery on the spot, or imported it from some near-by pottery manufacturing center, or did both. The distinctive types of pottery they produced in their respective ages, still furnish, in the form of fragments on the surface of the tell, much explicit and accurate information concerning the character and duration of ancient settlements there.

The sherds reveal a long history of settlement on Tell Arba'ın. Among the earliest sherds, were some that clearly belonged to the Chalcolithic period, and particularly to the Late Chalcolithic. They included several scalloped sherds of one of the types found at Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199 b), which will be discussed below. There were also numerous EB I sherds, including lattice-painted, "band-slip" ware, alarge semi-elliptical, plain ledge-handle of porridge-ware texture, and pieces of crude face-combed ware, which belong to the first part of EB. The next period represented was that of MB II, including one small, fine disc base of well levigated, creamy brown ware, with polished slip on outer surface and base; and a flat-topped rim of a cooking pot with a raised, indented band below the rim. There were also large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds, and numerous Hellenistic through Byzantine, and some mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Tell Qudsiyeh (147)

Less than a km. to the s.w. of Tell el-Arba'în (144), is Tell Qudsîyeh (147), 653 situated on a low rise, on the n. side of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. No ruins whatsoever are visible, but several Hellenistic, and numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Tell Muhâwesh (147 a)

A short distance away to the w.-w. n. w. of Tell Qudsîyeh (147), is Tell Muhâwesh (147a), situated on a low, circular rise, on which no ruins are visible. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found on it. For all practical purposes Tell Qudsîyeh and Tell Muhâwesh must be considered as one site.

⁶⁴⁸ Bulletin 97, pp. 15.18, and Pl. 9: 7.12.

⁶⁴⁰ Bulletin 97, p. 19.

⁶⁵⁰ Bulletin 97, pp. 19. 20.

⁰⁵¹ Cf. under Tell Sheikh Mohammed (149), pp. 498-500, Pl. 25-27; below, pp. 249-251.

⁶⁵² Cf. below, p. 451.

⁶⁵³ December 10, 1942.

Khirbet Mohammed Salih (143)

At the w. edge of the Ghôr, overlooking the Zôr of the Jordan from the e., is Khirbet Moḥammed Ṣaliḥ (143), about 2 km. w. n. w. of Tell Muhâwesh (147 a). It marks the site of a tiny village, with a few rude, partly mud-brick and partly stone houses. In the debris beyond the houses, we found some Roman and Byzantine sherds, and, particularly, numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds of all kinds. A modern Arabic cemetery occupies much of the site. There is a view from this place on to Beisân and Mt. Hermon.

Tell Fendi (145)

Less than half a km. s. s. w. of Tell Muhâwesh (147 a), on the s. e. side of the lower of the two branches of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, which splits in two just below the point of Tell Muhâwesh, some 2 km. before emptying into the Jordan, is Tell Fendī (145). It is an extensive, low, gently rising, flat-topped rise, whose highest point is less than 5 meters above the valley floor. No surface ruins whatsoever were visible, and the entire site was, literally, completely ploughed over at the time of our visit. The existence of ruins of ancient, probably mud-brick dwellings below the surface, however, was made probable by numerous sherds found among the furrows.

Aside from a small number of flints and a broken stone-whorl, numerous fragments of very early pottery were found, most of which belonged to the Chalcolithic period, and especially to the Middle Chalcolithic period (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 487-488). There were several sherds which may belong to EB I, or in general to the first part of EB, and numerous Hellenistic through Byzantine, and some mediaeval Arabic sherds. The Chalcolithic sherds testify to the very early development of sedentary, agricultural civilization in the Jordan Valley, which, however, goes back considerably earlier than the beginning of the Chalcolithic period, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth millennium B. C. 654 Neolithic settlements preceded the Chalcolithic in the Jordan Valley. 455 The history of sedentary agricultural civilization in the Jordan Valley, despite Toynbee's ignorance of it, 656 is at least as early as that of the Nile and Tigris and Euphrates valleys. The neolithic houses and cult statues and pottery found in Jericho, testify eloquently to the high degree of sedentary civilization in the Jordan Valley in the latter part of the 6th, and

⁶⁵⁴ Wright, PPEB, pp. 14.15.

^{e55} Ben Dor, Jericho: Pottery of the Middle and Late Neolithic Periods, AAA XXIII:
3-4, 1936, pp. 77-90. The title should actually read, however, Pottery of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods; cf. Wright, PPEB, pp. 7.8.13.

⁶⁵⁶ Toynbee, A Study of History, p. 58.

in the 5th millennium B. C. 657 "Indeed, the story of civilization might well start with the words, 'And in the beginning there was Jericho.'" 658

The development of the Chalcolithic civilization did not, however, as we have already seen from discoveries in the highlands of Transjordan, 659 limit itself to the lowlands, such as the Jordan Valley, nor do we believe that there was much of any, if indeed any time lag at all between the establishment of such a civilization in the lowlands and its becoming rooted in the highlands. We are inclined seriously to doubt that there was any time lag at all, but until excavations, penetrating chalcolithic and neolithic levels as, for instance, at Jericho, have taken place at some of the highland sites, where Chalcolithic pottery has been found, it will be impossible to settle the question of priority, and may even then remain a debatable question. Wherever there was good soil and water, and generally similar physical conditions, there, we believe, almost simultaneously within a given area, such as that of Cis- and Transjordan, with the Jordan Valley in between, the same kind of civilization found its roots and flourished, whether it was in the Chalcolithic period, or earlier, or later.

Khirbet Sheikh 'Aleiyan (147b)

About a quarter of a kilometer to the e.-e.s.e. of Tell Qudsîyeh (147), and half a km. e.n.e.-n.e. of Tell el-Fendī (145), is Khirbet Sheikh 'Aleiyân (147b), 660 on the s. side of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. It is a tiny settlement, consisting of few rude, modern mud-brick houses. In the debris of the site, we picked up numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds, the latter being present in larger quantity than the others. 'Arâq er-Rashdân (146)

Less than 2 km. almost due e. of Tell el-Arba'în (144), and about 1.3 km. due s. of Tell Abū el-Ḥaret (148), is 'Arâq er-Rashdân (146), 601 s. of the Wâdī Ziqlâb. It is situated on an outspur in the foothills, immediately above the e. side of the Jordan Valley. The outspur curves around from the n. e. at its higher end to the s. w. at its lower end. Behind it to the e. n. e., on top of the highest rise in the immediate vicinity, are several rude, modern stone houses and some caves. The outspur of 'Arâq er-Rashdân is skirted from its e. n. e. to e. to s. sides by a small, dry, steep-sided wâdī. About half a km. below it to the n., and beginning to pursue a zigzag, s. w. course, runs the perennial stream of the Wâdī Ziqlâb, whose sides are still fairly steep near

⁶⁵⁷ AAA XXII: 3-4, 1935, pp. 166-167, and Pl. 53; PPEB, p. 8.

⁶⁵⁸ RJ, pp. 190, 201, 205, 208, 209,

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. above, pp. 74-75.

⁶⁶⁰ This site is not marked on our map.

⁶⁶¹ ZDPV 49, p. A. 408; Pella, p. 71; RB VIII, p. 422.

this point, till they meet the valley proper. On the surfaces of this site, and on the slopes below it leading down to the Valley, we found fairly numerous EB I sherds, including a semi-elliptical, plain ledge-handle, with traces of a dark, reddish-brown slip on it, and a quantity of sherds with "band-slip" decoration. There was a fragment of an inverted rim with a shallow groove on the outer surface below the rim, which might possibly belong to EB IV. If so, it would seem to be the only one of that period, so far as we could recognize. There were also numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Merga'ah (128)

On a hilltop, in the first range of foothills on the e. side of the Jordan Valley, at a point about 1.3 km. s.-s. s. w. of 'Arâq er-Rashdân (146), is Merqa'ah (128).⁶⁶² It is on the n. side of the small Wâdī Abū Ziyâd,⁶⁶³ in which there is a small, perennial stream of water, not strong enough, however, to penetrate more than a short distance into the Jordan Valley. The hilltop on which Merqa'ah is located, overlooks the point where the wâdī reaches the Ghôr, and its sides level down to merge with it. This ancient site, with numerous foundation-ruins on it, yielded large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and, especially, of mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed sherds. It is immediately n. e. of the tiny, modern Arabic village of Merqa'ah.

Tell el-'Azî'a (127)

A little over half a km. e. of Merqa'ah (128), is Tell el-'Azî'a (127), or Tell er-Refeif, as the site seemed also to be called by some of the Arabs of the district, whom we questioned concerning it. It, too, is on a hilltop, on the n. side of the Wâdī Abū Ziyâd, just at the point where the wâdī begins suddenly to broaden out, and its sides begin to level down to meet and merge with the Ghôr. Part of the Ghôr can be seen from it. There is a small, cultivable stretch of ground on the n. and w. sides of this site. On top of Tell 'Azî'a, is a small, rude, modern house. Aside from several flints, numerous Iron Age I-II sherds were found, as well as some Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine sherds.

Khirbet (or Tell) Sheikh Mohammed (149)

A little over a km. s. of Tell Fendī, and about three quarters of a km. e. n. e. of the modern bridge, Jisr Sheikh Hussein, which spans the Jordan River, is Khirbet Sheikh Mohammed (149).664 It is an extensive, narrow mound.

⁶⁶² October 12, 1942.

⁶⁰⁸ ZDPV 49, p. A. 408; RB VIII, p. 422.

⁶⁶⁴ December 10, 1942.

dominating the w. edge of the e. side of the Jordan Valley, and commanding the Zôr and the crossing over of the Jordan.

The mound is oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e., and its topmost part measures about 60 by 12 m. Beisân and its ancient city-site of Tell el-Ḥuṣn are clearly visible from it, 7 km. to the w. There are no ruins whatsoever on the surface of Khirbet Sheikh Moḥammed. Some stones embedded in the soil along the outer circumference of the top of the mound, may possibly indicate the presence of an encircling fortification wall, belonging to one or more of the early periods of occupation of the site. Some modern mud-brick houses have been built below the n. w. end of the mound, and several also below its e. side. The e. side is much less steep and high than the one on the w. side. There is about a 25 m. descent from the w. edge of the mound to the cultivated level of the Zôr below it.

Numerous sherds were found on the top and slopes of the mound, including a few EB I fragments, which probably came from the great EB I site of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150), on the w. side of the Jordan, about 1.75 km. e. n. e. of Khirbet Sheikh Moḥammed. There were several sherds which might possibly belong to MB I, and a fragment of a wedge-shaped ear-handle, which would definitely seem to belong to MB I. There were large numbers of distinctive MB II sherds, including, for instance, the button base of a Tell el-Yahūdîyeh juglet, followed by large numbers of Iron I-II sherds, and small quantities of Roman and Byzantine sherds (see Pottery Notes, pp. 498-500). Several facecombed sherds were found of a type which occurs frequently in the MB IIA G and F levels of Tell Beit Mirsim.

The two most important periods represented by surface pottery finds on this site are then MB II and Iron Age I-II. I am reproducing but few of the Iron Age sherds of the Jordan Valley and of North Gilead, because they seem on the whole to be much the same as those known from excavations in Palestine, and do not seem generally to have marked characteristics which distinguish much of the Iron Age pottery of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and South Gilead from the contemporary Palestinian wares. Excavations would undoubtedly furnish a more rounded out picture of the range and nature of the MB II occupation, and probably furnish considerable evidence of sedentary settlement in LB I-II. There are only a few sites in the Jordan Valley, where MB II occupation is clearly attested to from surface pottery finds. If one were to judge from such surface finds alone, it would seem necessary to conclude that sedentary settlement was less heavy and less extensive in this period, than during MB I or during the first part of EB.

The existence of MB II settlement in the Jordan Valley, is attested to both by previous excavations and explorations there and by literary records. As Albright has pointed out in a note to a previous discussion of mine, concerning the breaks or recessions in sedentary settlement in the Jordan Valley, Pella was occupied in the late 19th and also in the early 15th century, and Bethshân, as shown by excavations, was re-occupied after a long interruption about the 17th century, and continued to be occupied until about the 10th. And as for Jericho, excavations have shown, as Albright points out further, "the continuity of occupation throughout the entire Middle Bronze Age, period H at Tell Beit Mirsim being well represented, G-F being found, and E-D extremely rich." 665

The diminution and centralization of occupation in the Jordan Valley and in North Gilead during the Middle Bronze II period, and the apparent recession in sedentary, civilized settlement in the Late Bronze period, particularly the first part of Late Bronze, which have manifested themselves during the course of our archaeological survey, and which we can speak of generally at this point, in anticipation of the more complete treatment of the Jordan Valley to be given below, have been corroborated by Maisler and Yeivin and Stekelis, in their brief explorations of the fertile area of the northern part of the Jordan Valley below the Lake of Galilee, and that part of the Yarmûk Valley extending from Khirbet ed-Duweir (323) westward.

The downward curve, which would mark on a graph the decline in history of sedentary settlement in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze periods in the Jordan Valley and North Gilead, although it would not represent a complete break in the story of civilized sedentary settlement there, applies also to much of the rest of Transjordan, with even more force. The fact that in 'Amman or Natûr, and elsewhere in the territory of ancient Transjordan s. of the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq), either MB II or LB tomb-groups, or individual MB II sherds have been found,667 does not alter the fact, that certainly on the sites of open cities in general, and, with the apparent exception of a few strong, centralized, important sites, even on the sites of earlier, destroyed and buried walled cities, sedentary settlements were not able to establish themselves freely, and with comparative assurance of security, during the period extending from the beginning of MB II down through LB II. In North Gilead and the Jordan Valley, this downward curve would apply more particularly, it seems, to the period extending from MB IIB down through LB I, i.e., approximately between 1750 and 1400 B. C. MB II and LB were definitely represented, but settlements were apparently not as numerous as in earlier and later periods.

⁶⁰⁵ Albright, Bulletin 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77 a; 83, p. 33; 89, p. 9.

⁶⁰⁶ BJPES X: 4, pp. 101-102.

⁶⁶⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 82.

This very sharply marked decline, amounting practically to a break in the history of widespread sedentary settlement in Transjordan s. of the Wâdī Zerqā, has been corroborated, as I have already pointed out elsewhere, 608 by the independent archaeological survey of the es-Salt region in Transjordan, carried out by Père R. de Vaux and Père Benoit, 609 by Albright's excavations at Ader, 670 Crowfoot's at Bālû'ah, 671 and by the significant silence of the Amarna tablets and the Egyptian lists of conquered towns, dealing with the parts, and periods of history of Transjordan in question. 672 I have attributed this general and radical decline 673 in the history of sedentary settlement and agricultural civilization in Transjordan during the MBII period and continuing through LB, to the unsettled and dangerous conditions inaugurated with the invasion of the Hyksos. 674

Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (Tell Abū Hâshī) (150)

On the w. side of the Jordan River, about 1.75 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of Khirbet Sheikh Moḥammed (149), is Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150),675 which is also known as Tell Abū Hâshī. It is on top of a large, high, almost completely isolated hill, overlooking a widened and cultivated part of the Zôr. It is a little over a km. w. s. w. of Jisr Sheikh Ḥuṣṣein, and about a km. e. of the modern Jewish colony of Mā'ôz, in whose lands it is included. It marks the dividing line between the w. edge of the Ghôr and the beginning of the Zôr on the w. side of the Jordan, and commands a view over Khirbet Sheikh Moḥammed, which overlooks the Zôr on the e. side of the river. Situated on the s. side of the macadamized road, which leads from Jiṣr Sheikh Ḥuṣṣein to Beisân, there is a good view from it to Beisân about 5.5 km. to the w.-w. n. w., and to Tell el-Ḥuṣn (ancient Beth-shân), about 6 km. to the w.n. w. A little stream of water bends around the n. and e. sides of the high hill, on which Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh is located.

675 Bulletin 101, pp. 3-20.

⁶⁶⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 265, 266, 268.

⁶⁶⁹ RB XLVII, 1938, p. 424.

⁶⁷⁶ Bulletin 53, pp. 13-18; ANNUAL XIV, pp. 45.46.

⁶⁷¹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 55-56; PEFQS 1934, pp. 76-84.

⁶⁷² ANNUAL XIV, pp. 1.82; XV, pp. 1.38; Bulletin 68, p. 21, n. 21; ZAW 1938, p. 228.

⁶⁷⁸ This is probably a more correct way to describe the situation, than to speak, e.g., as I did, Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 268, of a gap in the history of sedentary occupation in MB II and LB I-II.

⁶⁷⁴ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 81-82; XV, p. 138; Bulletin 68, p. 21; 90, pp. 17-18; cf. Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, ed. 3, pp. 54. 85. 86; Bulletin 68, p. 21; 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77 a.

The deoris of ancient settlement on top of the natural hill of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh, was pitted with a large series of shallow holes, ranging from 1 to 3 m. in diameter, and about 1 m. deep, giving the top surface of the site the appearance of a face badly scarred after a virulent and untreated attack of smallpox. In and immediately around each of these pits, were large numbers of fragments of pottery, which belong almost exclusively to Early Bronze I. By far the largest part of them consisted of pieces of EBI "band-slip" ware. In addition, a small quantity of Byzantine sherds was found. We found none of the Chalcolithic sherds reported by Bergman and Brandstaetter, and are inclined to think that their dating was too high.⁶⁷⁶ They report, furthermore, finding an Iron Age I-II site, where there were also some Byzantine sherds, about 400 m. to the w. of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh, on one of the rolling chain of low mounds beyond it.⁶⁷⁷

These pits in the shallow, dry mound, which crowns the top of the hill of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh, go back only several decades more or less, we were told, having been dug by neighboring Arabs for the purpose of storing their grain in them, unmindful of the ancient levels of occupation they were disturbing. The Early Bronze I settlers chose by far the best location in the entire district for their settlement, finding on the top of the hill far stronger breezes than prevail below, and securing thus some relief from summer and autumn heat, and malarial mosquitoes,—being familiar with the annoyance, if not aware of the dangers of the latter. The element of heightened security afforded by the location, in addition to the fact that it stands amidst very fertile lowlands, were, however, probably even more cogent reasons for the location of the EB I settlement there, than the degree of relief afforded by pleasant breezes.

The unmistakable, EB I "band-slip" ware, has now been found not only in various lowland sites in the Yarmûk Valley, such as Tell el-Ḥammeh (324) ⁶⁷⁸ and Tell Jamîd (88), ⁶⁷⁹ and from Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150) to Khirbet Kerak (Beth-yeraḥ) ⁶⁸⁰ on the Lake of Galilee in the Jordan Valley, and from Beth-shân to Megiddo in the Esdraelon and Jezreel Valleys, ⁶⁸¹ but also extensively in the hill country of the upper part of North Gilead, beyond a line which might roughly be drawn e.-w. from el-Ḥuṣn (1) to Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh and Beth-shân. Indeed, had it not been for some discoveries on sites overlooking the Wâdī el-Far'ah in Palestine, which joins the Jordan, it might have been possible to say, that the s. boundary for "band-slip" ware in Palestine and Transjordan could be drawn roughly by a line extending from el-Ḥuṣn in Transjordan to Megiddo in Palestine. Further archaeological exploration is

⁶⁷⁶ BJPES VIII: 3, 1941, p. 86.

⁶⁷⁷ BJPES VIII: 3, p. 86.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. above, pp. 137-140.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. above, pp. 122-124.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. above, pp. 238-239.

⁶⁶¹ PPEB, pp. 44-45; Bulletin 101, p. 9, n. 5. 6.

necessary to determine the northern boundary of this type of ware, which would seem most certainly to extend into Syria. Other sites in the hill country of the upper part of North Gilead where "band-slip" ware was found, include el-Kôm (51),682 Rujm el-Qâdī (70),688 el-Fakhât (98),684 'Arqûb ez-Zahar (93), 685 Tell esh-Shi'ir (80), 686 Irbid, 687 Tell Kufr Yûbā (81), 688 Tell Deir Sa'aneh (112),689 and Tell Zer'ah (100).690 There was only one site, Khirbet el-Metwi (300),691 less than 9 km, n.e. of Jerash, and approximately on a line e. s. e. of 'Ajlûn (129), and over 20 km, s. e. of el-Husn (1), where one small fragment of what seemed to be "band-slip" ware occurred. With this one exception, if indeed it is an exception and we were not mistaken in classifying it as a fragment of "band-slip" ware, we found no other sites s. of the above-mentioned line in the hill country of Transjordan where any of this ware occurred.

"Band-slip" ware has been discovered in the hill country of Palestine, at a point considerably s. of the line extending from el-Husn in Transjordan to Megiddo in Palestine, which had previously seemed to us to form the s. boundary of the extent of "band-slip" ware. 692 This is the site of Tell el-Far'ah, n. e. of Nablus, overlooking the strong spring of 'Ain el-Far'ah, at the beginning of the Wadī el-Far'ah, which joins the Jordan. Not only were large quantities of EBI "band-slip" ware found there,693 indistinguishable from that of the Jordan and Yarmûk Valleys and the hill country of northern Transjordan, but also Middle and Late Chalcolithic wares were discovered, 694 with the latter being indistinguishable from the Late Chalcolithic sherds in the Jordan Valley, such as found, for example, at Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī,605 and with the Middle Chalcolithic wares of Tell el-Far'ah being related to, but on the whole later than the predominantly Middle Chalcolithic sherds, found in hill-country sites e. of Jerash in Transjordan. 696 There is also an unpublished fragment of EB I "band-slip" ware, discovered at Balață, 697 in Nablus, about 12 km. s. e. of Tell el-Far'ah.

The discussion of the "band-slip" wares from Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh and Tell

^{6×2} Cf. above, p. 119.

⁶⁸³ Cf. above, p. 129.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. above, pp. 142-143.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. above, p. 146.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. above, pp. 150-153.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. above, pp. 153-154.

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. above, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. above, pp. 172-174.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. above, pp. 182-184.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. above, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁹² Bulletin 101, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁸ RB LIV, 1947, p. 422.

⁶⁰⁴ RB LIV, 1947, pp. 397-403. 407-409.

⁶⁰⁵ Bulletin 97, pp. 10-18.

⁶⁹⁶ Bulletin 104, pp. 12-20.

⁶⁹⁷ It is no. I. 970, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum; cf. RB LIV, 1947, p. 422, n. 7.

Deir Sa'aneh-Mekhledîyeh,⁶⁹⁸ which might all just as well have come from one site, applies to the rest of the sherds of "band-slip" ware found in all the other sites mentioned, whether at Tell el-Hammeh on the Yarmûk,⁶⁹⁹ or Khirbet Kerak on the Lake of Galilee,⁷⁰⁰ or Tell el-Far'ah on the Wâdī el-Far'ah.⁷⁰¹ The other EBI sherds from these various sites are also equally closely related.

Khirbet Fahil (135)

About 6.5 km. s. e. of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150), is Khirbet Faḥil (135). Told It is at the s. e. end of one of the *Tabaqat Faḥil*, the terraces of *Faḥil*, which mark a stage of the descent from the highlands of 'Ajlûn to the Jordan Valley. The terrace on which it stands, is bounded on the n. by the Seil el-Ḥammeh, and on the s. by the Wâdī Jurm (Wâdī el-Malâwī), and is clearly visible from the Jordan Valley (Fig. 85). The slopes on the n. and s. sides of this terrace are rather steep, with those on the other sides being more gradual. The soil on the slopes is kept in place by terrace-walls. A very small village nests among the largely Roman and Byzantine ruins of Khirbet Faḥil. On the s. side of the Wâdī Jurm, rises the high, steep hill of Tell el-Ḥuṣn, which dominates the entire area of Khirbet Faḥil. It may have been the site of an early citadel. We did not get to examine it. Told and the steep of the steep of the examine it. Told and the steep of th

Between and below the separate bench of land on which Khirbet Faḥil is located and the hill of Tell el-Ḥuṣn, and extending somewhat to the e. of their bases, is a small valley, limited on the e. by the hillsides rising above it. It was perfectly natural for a Roman theater, facing w., to be located in this valley, commanding a view over the descent to the Jordan Valley below. Along the sides of the caldron-like hollow of this valley, and of the beginnings of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$, there gushes forth a whole series of springs, strong enough to form a perennial stream, which plunges down through the Wâdī Jurm to the Jordan Valley, where its waters are used up for irrigation purposes. The dry Wâdī Ṭanṭûr, coming from the e., peters out above the e. end of the little valley, which extends between it and the Wâdī Jurm. Both the Wâdī Ṭanṭûr and the Wâdī Jurm are part of the total length of the Wâdī Malâwī.

On and immediately above the gentle slopes on the e, side of this little

⁶⁹⁸ Bulletin 101, pp. 9-20; cf. above, p. 174.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. below, Pottery Notes to Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150) and Tell Deir Sa'aneh-Mekhledîyeh (112), p. 458; above, p. 138.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. above, p. 138, n. 340.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. below, p. 458.

⁷⁰² December 6, 1942.

⁷⁰³ Cf. PEFQS 1934, p. 29.

valley, is a complex of ruins, including that of a Byzantine church.⁷⁶⁴ In the valley proper are the remains of Hellenistic-Roman buildings, some of them apparently re-used in the Byzantine period, and also the remains of the abovementioned theater. The slopes at the s. e. end of Khirbet Faḥil, leading down



Fig. 85. Khirbet Fahil (135), looking n.e. from the Jordan Valley.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

to this valley, are also covered with building remains. On the w. side of Khirbet Faḥil, are the remains of a large Byzantine church and beyond it the remains of an extensive necropolis. Numerous anchorite and burial caves are to be found on the sides of the Wâdī Jurm, and particularly on the n.

⁷⁰⁴ PEFQS 1934, p. 29.

side. It is unnecessary to go into further detail, regarding the ruins of Pella, which have already been more or less adequately described, especially by Schumacher 705 and Richmond. 706

The entire site of Khirbet Fahil has been identified with Pella,707 one of the great cities of the Decapolis, that great Hellenistic-Roman federation of cities, all of which were occupied also in the Byzantine period and later. The immediate Roman and Byzantine counterpart of Pella was Scythopolis (Beisân), clearly visible to the n. e.-e. n. e. of it, approximately 12 km. away, overlooking the w. side of the Jordan Valley. The site of Pella occupies a unique position with regard to the Jordan Valley, being neither part of it nor completely separated from it. A track winds past the site of Pella leading down to the Jordan Valley, once good enough to carry chariot traffic and donkey-trains. In the Roman period, it helped connect Scythopolis with Pella and other confederated cities of the Decapolis.708 Albright has pointed out that the Amarna letters mention the name of Pella, and thus testify to its occupation in the 14th century B. C. 709 In this connection, he has again called attention to the fact that Pella is mentioned in a number of Egyptian lists and texts from the 15th and 13th centuries B. C.710 He reports discovering, in conformity with these historical references, Late Bronze and Iron Age I sherds on the s. slope of the main terrace of Khirbet Fahil, overlooking the Wâdî Jurm.711

The location of Khirbet Faḥil, immediately above the powerful springs gushing forth below it to form the perennial stream flowing through the Wâdī Jurm, makes it seem a priori likely that historical, civilized settlement established itself there very early indeed. It was most difficult, however, to find any sherds of the pre-Roman historical periods there. There was an abundance of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds all over the entire area. In a cutting someone had dug on the s. side of the Wâdī Jurm, at the base of the hill of Tell el-Ḥuṣn, there were Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds, but none earlier. Some pre-Roman sherds were found on the slope

⁷⁰⁵ Pella, pp. 20-67.

⁷⁰⁶ PEFQS 1934, pp. 18-31.

⁷⁰⁷ Albright, Annual VI, pp. 39-42; Bulletin 89, p. 9, n. 9; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 405-406.

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. above, p. 213; ANNUAL VI, p. 41, n. 86; XVIII-XIX, p. 49, n. 156; BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, p. 89; *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁷⁰⁰ Bulletin 89, pp. 9-17; ANNUAL VI, pp. 39-41; RJ, p. 175.

⁷¹⁰ Bulletin 81, pp. 18-19; 89, p. 9, n. 9; 94, p. 22; ANNUAL VI, pp. 39-40; APB, p. 198, n. 87.

⁷¹¹ ANNUAL VI, p. 39; Bulletin 89, p. 7.

below Khirbet Faḥil leading down to the Wâdī Jurm, where Albright had previously found some Late Bronze and Iron Age I sherds. It took us a considerable time to find there, among the very large numbers of Roman and later sherds, several MB I and MB II sherds, and some Iron Age I-II sherds. We found none which could unquestionably be assigned to LB. That, however, definitely does not mean that they do not exist there, or that Albright's finds are to be questioned. We did find LB sherds elsewhere in the Jordan Valley.⁷¹² It would not surprise us at all, furthermore, if excavations were to reveal EB and Chalcolithic sherds, indicating that the history of this strategically located site paralleled that of Beth-shân: Scythopolis.

el-Hammeh (229)

About 2.5 km. n. w.-n. n. w. of Khirbet Faḥil (135), is the hot spring of el-Ḥammeh (229), 713 at the bottom of the n. side of the Wâdī or Seil el-Ḥammeh, which bends n. w.-w. n. w. to join the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh. We looked down at it from the top of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, and did not descend to examine it. 714 Some Roman masonry remains have been reported near the spring. 715 Near the edge of the shelf of land above the Wâdī el-Ḥammeh and the thermal spring in it, are the almost completely leveled ruins of a small Byzantine site. They are at the base of the completely natural hill of Tell el-Ḥammeh, which overlooks the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ and the spring from the e.s.e. Some Byzantine sherds were found on its slopes. 716

Zaharet el-Ḥuṣn el-Gharbī (230)

About 1.25 km. e. s. e.-s. e. of el-Ḥammeh (229), and about 1.75 km. n.-n. n. e. of Khirbet Faḥil (135), are two hills, bearing, respectively, the names of Zaharet el-Ḥuṣn el-Gharbī and Zaharet el-Ḥuṣn esh-Sherqī. Zaharet el-Ḥuṣn el-Gharbī (230) is the only one of any importance whatsoever. It is on the n. side of the tiny Wâdī Abū Ṣâliḥ, which joins the Wâdī el-Ḥammeh. Most of this site was completely ploughed over at the time of our visit. There is a small, excellent, well plastered cistern on the top, which still holds rainwater. It measures 2.25 by 2 m., with steps leading down into it on its e. side. Some small heaps of building stones in the vicinity may once have belonged to houses. There are some indications that the flattish, terraced hill-top was once surrounded by a stone wall, 1.20 m. thick. A small number of Byzantine sherds was found. There is a fine view over the n. part of the Jordan Valley from this site.

^{*12} Cf. pp. 250, 259, 292, 295, 312.

⁷¹⁸ February 17, 1943.

⁷¹⁴ Schumacher, Pella, pp. 68-69,

⁷¹⁵ Richmond, PEFQS 1934, pp. 19-20.

⁷¹⁶ Schumacher, Pella, p. 69.

Tell Ghanâm (156)

In the Jordan Valley proper, at a point 2.5 km. distant from Khirbet Faḥil (135), is Tell Ghanâm (156). The is a small, featureless rise, n. of the line of the Wâdī el-Malâwī, with a small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds on it.

Tell esh-Shûneh (155)

On the s. side of the line of the Wâdī el-Malâwī, somewhat less than 1.5 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Tell Ghanâm (156), is Tell esh-Shûneh (155), at the w. end of the Ghôr. Below it, the bleak qaṭṭārah hills descend sharply and raggedly to the lower Zôr level, through which the Jordan twists its tortuous way. There are numerous pits on the flat top of the small hill of Tell esh-Shûneh, which are similar to those on Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh, 718 and were probably also once used for grain bins. There was a fine, small, granite pillar on the ground, but no indication as to where it belonged. With the exception of several Byzantine sherds, the others found in considerable numbers belonged to the mediaeval Arabic period.

Tell Munțâr (151).

About 2 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Khirbet Faḥil (135), is Tell Munţâr (151), beyond the s. side of the Wâdī el-Malâwī. It is on top of a hill overlooking the e. side of the Ghôr. There is a ruined, modern building on it. Numerous sherds were found, ranging from Roman to mediaeval Arabic. The waters diverted from the Wâdī el-Malâwī (Wâdī Jurm), are used to irrigate considerable stretches of the valley below it.

edh-Dhiyâbeh (152)

About half a km. to the s. w. of it, in the valley proper, is the small, low rise called edh-Dhiyâbeh (152), now covered by a modern cemetery. Fragments of pillars of the Roman and Byzantine periods were lying about. There were numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds.⁷¹⁹

Tell Abū 'Alûbeh (153)

On the first rise above the e. side of the valley, is the completely natural hill of Tell Abū 'Alûbeh (153), 720 3.5 km. s. w. of Khirbet Fahil, and 2 km.

⁷¹⁷ December 12, 1942.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 252.

⁷¹⁰ The area of this site, as well as that of Tell el-Muntar (151), seem to be referred to in ZDPV 49, pp. A. 421-422.

⁷²⁰ ZDPV 49, p. A. 423.

s.s.e. of Tell Ghanâm (156). Numerous caves are visible, particularly on the w. and n. sides of the hill. About a hundred meters to the w. n. w. of this hill, on the w. side of the road, in the valley proper, are the remains of a small settlement. On the w. side of the road are several embedded drums of pillars, and a series of fallen columns and fixed column-bases, which may have belonged to a Byzantine church or some other Byzantine building. We made no search for sherds, because the ploughed-up ground was too soggy from irrigation water to walk about on.

Tell Abū Ḥâyet (154)

About a km. due w. of Tell Abū 'Alûbeh (153), is Tell Abū Ḥâyet (154). It is an extensive, low rise, steeper on its w. than on its e. side, and not more than 5 m. at its highest point above the level of the valley. It is used for modern burials, and there are no ancient building remains whatsoever visible on the surface. This insignificant looking site must, however, have been of considerable importance in ancient times, to judge from the considerable number of sherds found on and around it. They belong to Middle Bronze I-II, Late Bronze I-II, and Iron Age I-II periods. There were also numerous Roman period fragments. Among the Late Bronze sherds was a painted "wish-bone" handle, which is to be assigned to Late Bronze II.

The periods of heaviest settlement on this site occurred, to judge solely from the frequency of these surface sherds, during Middle Bronze I-II and Iron Age I-II, rather than in Late Bronze I-II (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 450-453). There seems to have been no settlement on this site preceding the Middle Bronze I period, although that is a question which can be determined with finality only by proper excavations. During the Middle Bronze I period, as we have seen previously, there was a pronounced renaissance of sedentary agricultural settlements, with the appearance of a distinctively new type of pottery, following a period of marked decline during especially the Early Bronze Age IV period.⁷²¹

Were it not for the presence of potsherds on the surface of this site, knowledge of its existence might have escaped all attention, even as it seems to have escaped being marked on any of the maps of the Jordan Valley up till now. It represents the site of a thriving agricultural settlement, which endured for many centuries. The lands around Tell Abū Ḥâyet are irrigated today by the waters of the Qanât er-Rāsîyeh, which are drawn largely from the Wâdī el-Malâwī.

Tol Cf. above, p. 202.

Tell el-Mu'ajameh (157)

About 3.75 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Tell Abū 'Alûbeh (153), and about 3 km. s. w. of Tell Abū Ḥâyet (154), is Tell el-Mu'ajameh (157), 722 on a high, natural knoll, at the very edge of the Ghôr. Below it, a semicircle of qattarah hills leads down to the small plain of the $Z \delta r$. The bottom of a loop of the Jordan River is less than half a km. distant to the w., in a straight line from Tell el-Mu'ajameh. Less than a km. to the s. of Tell el-Mu'ajameh is the Wâdī el-Yâbis, approaching its junction with the Jordan.

The remains of some stone foundations of houses and walls, now almost flush with the ground, are visible on Tell el-Mu'ajameh. Numerous pits dug into the surface of the dry soil of the mound probably served as grain-bins, as in the instances of Tell edh-Dhiyâbeh (150) and Tell esh-Shûneh (155).⁷²³ Large quantities of Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds were found, among which were several which might possibly have belonged to Late Bronze II. There were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds, as well as several worked flints. Worked flints exist on almost every one of the sites visited in the course of our archaeological explorations of Transjordan.

Tell Sherhabîl (158)

Somewhat less than 1.5 km. s.e.-e. s.e. of Tell el-Mu'ajameh (157) is Tell Sherḥabîl (158), on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis. It is a large, completely ruined site in the middle of the e. side of the Jordan Valley, and is marked by an extensive, low rise. There was a large, half-completed, modern cement building on it at the time of our visit, which was used mainly as a storehouse. The fertile lands round about the site are irrigated by waters drawn from the Wâdī el-Yâbis, which in the Valley becomes a shallow bed for its perennial stream. On the n. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis is the completely natural site of Sherḥabîl (158a), which belongs to the lands of Tell Sherḥabîl. Masses of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic pottery were found on and around Tell Sherḥabîl, with sherds of the Byzantine period predominating.⁷²⁴ This site represented a flourishing country center from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic period. Most of the ancient houses were made of mud-brick, there having been, however, also some of stone construction.

The approximately 300 souls who now live on and around Tell Sherhabîl, tending to their lands and flocks, are for the most part tent-dwellers. Such houses as they or their chieftains possess are used mainly for storage purposes.

 $^{^{722}}$ December 12, 1942. This site is referred to as "tell el-em'addschadsche" by Steuernagel, ZDPV 49, p. A. 423.

⁷²⁸ Cf. above, pp. 252. 258.

⁷²⁴ ZDPV 48, pp. A. 339-340.

They manufacture no pottery at all, and purchase from elsewhere the little that they do make use of. Goatskins and empty gasoline tins largely replace the ceramic containers anciently employed in recognizably different, changing forms throughout the centuries.⁷²⁵

Should peaceful conditions prevail for a reasonably long period, however, in the Jordan Valley, a fairly extensive village is bound to develop again on the site of Tell Sherhabîl, as will other villages elsewhere in the Valley, with numerous permanent houses of adobe brick and other materials being erected. Even under propitious circumstances, however, it will probably continue to be the fact in the future as it was in the past, that at least during much of the year, a considerable portion of the semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural Arab population in the Jordan Valley will continue to live in tents, which are so well suited to the climate of the Valley.

Tell el-Megbereh (159)

Tell Abū Kharaz (159a)

A little over 2 km. e.-e. s. e. of Tell Sherḥabîl (158), is Tell el-Meqbereh (159).⁷²⁶ It overlooks from the n. the broadening out and merging of the Wâdī el-Yâbis with the e. side of the Jordan Valley. Having escaped from between the walls of its canyon cut through the hills of North Gilead to the e., the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Yâbis threads its way through a shallow bed w. across the Valley to the Jordan. It is still employed to irrigate, although less intensively than in ancient times, large sections of fertile land along its sides, before it empties into the Jordan.

The small mound of Tell el-Meqbereh is oriented n.w. by s.e. It rises noticeably to the s.e., and measures about 40 by 25 m. In all probability, it merely marks the center of an area of habitation much larger in ancient times than is apparent from the size of the mound or surface remains. Were it not for the light grayish coloration of the soil of the mound, ⁷²⁷ a shade distinctively different to the experienced eye from that of the cultivated fields round about, and for the eloquent testimony of the sherds which litter its surfaces, it would be difficult to distinguish Tell el-Meqbereh, as an artificial mound concealing within it the ruins of ancient settlements, from a completely natural formation.

Tell el-Meqbereh had hitherto, like many other related sites in the Jordan Valley and elsewhere in Palestine and Transjordan, never been considered as

727 Cf. below, p. 276.

⁷²⁵ Cf. below, p. 263.

⁷²⁶ Dec. 13, 1942; Feb. 17, 1943; Bulletin 89, pp. 2-6; 91, p. 8; RJ, pp. 164-167.

an antiquity site. This statement is made, not to claim any priority in discovery, but to underline the extreme importance of the means of recognizing and dating an ancient site through the scientific knowledge of ancient pottery, including surface fragments, as developed in Palestine particularly by Sir Flinders Petrie, Père Hugues Vincent, Clarence Fisher, and the writer's great teacher, William Foxwell Albright.⁷²⁸ With the exception of a small number



Fig. 86. Tell el-Ḥuṣn-Beth-shân, looking e. s. e. across Jordan Valley to hills of Transjordan.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

of tells, tulûl, in the Jordan Valley, such as Tell el-Ḥuṣn (Beth-shân) (Fig. 86), Tell Deir'allā (Sukkôth), Tell es-Sulṭân (Jericho), and several others, most of the ancient sites in the Jordan Valley appear as low rises, which could easily be regarded, or rather disregarded, as indeed many long have been, as being natural features of the countryside. In the case of one of them, for instance, a tremendous site some 2 km. long, called Tell Umm Ḥamâd (199 a-b),⁷²⁹ near the confluence of the Nahr Zerqā and the Jordan River, there is hardly any rise at all to mark the site. Were it not for great quantities

⁷²⁸ Cf. Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 43.

⁷²⁰ Cf. below, pp. 318-324; Bulletin 89, p. 6; RJ, pp. 137-143.

of sherds on the surfaces of this double site, it would have been almost impossible to have ascertained, aside from chance discovery, that a very large and very important ancient site had existed there, beginning with the end of the Chalcolithic period and extending, with interruptions, through the Iron Age.

No pottery is manufactured in the Jordan Valley today, being replaced especially in Arabic settlements either by animal skins or gasoline tins for containers. There is, indeed, almost more ancient pottery on the smallest of the ancient sites in the Jordan Valley, dating variously from mediaeval Arabic back to Chalcolithic times, than there is recent pottery throughout its entire stretch.

In addition to numerous sherds on and around Tell el-Meqbereh, the foundations of some stone buildings were visible on the mound, most of them flush with the surface, and a few extending somewhat above it. It were idle to attempt to assign them to any particular period without extensive excavation. There was evidence also of mud-brick construction on this site, which was used in all the known, ancient historical settlements in the Jordan Valley, and is commonly employed in Arabic settlements there today.

About 200 m. to the e. and e. s. e. of Tell el-Meqbereh, beyond a small, cultivated plain, there rises abruptly a large, almost completely isolated hill. The practically sheer, rock-ribbed, palisade-like, lower west side of this hill terminates in a broad bench or step which encircles the hill about two thirds of the way up, with a set-back, harp shaped, flattish topped elevation completing its height. The hilltop is accessible with difficulty by rough tracks up its s. w. and s. e. sides. It has a very strategic position both so far as defense and command of the approaches to and from the Jordan Valley via the beginning of the Wâdī el-Yâbis gorge are concerned. The locating of fortified settlements on easily defensible hilltops near perennial streams at the points where the streams leave the hills of their origins to flow through fertile plains or valleys was standard practice in the ancient Near East.⁷³¹

Examination revealed that the flattish top of this splendidly situated hill, known as Tell Abū Kharaz (159 a),⁷⁸² had once been completely surrounded by a great, stone fortification wall, large sections of which can still be clearly traced. The outline of this wall shows up particularly well when seen from a plane above it, as the writer has (Fig. 87-90). The remains of the fortification wall, which seems to have been strengthened by a stone glacis built against it, can best be seen on the s. side of the top of the hill. Some digging would

⁷³⁰ Cf. above, p. 261.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. RJ, pp. 240-241; Bulletin 91, pp. 25-26.

⁷⁸² February 17, 1943.



Fig. 87. Wâdī el-Yabis, showing n. of it, near left end of phot., the walled, harp-shaped hilltop of Tell Abū Kharaz (159 a), with Tell el-Meqberch (159) w.n.w. of it beyond a small intervening plain.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

be necessary to determine the width of the wall, which we failed satisfactorily to ascertain, not only because of the poor condition of its surface remains, but also because of the dense growth of briars and weeds which covered the top of



Fig. 88. Small mound of Tell el-Meqbereh (159), with sheep grazing in front of it, and rock-ribbed hill of Tell Abū Kharaz (159 a) beyond it; looking e.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

the hill at the time of our visit. Some foundation remains of rooms were visible extending below the s. side of the outer wall, separated from each other by transverse walls about a m. thick. When we first saw them, we thought they might belong to a system of casemates such as exists, for instance, in the

Iron Age I-II fortification wall of Tell Beit Mirsim.⁷³³ It is utterly impossible, however, without extensive excavations, to determine the relationship of these rooms, if any, to the main fortification wall, or establish beyond doubt that indeed there was a glacis built against its outer side. We would surmise that the remains of the fortification wall belong to Iron Age I-II.

The top of the hill, which slopes from e. to w., is oriented approximately e. s. e. by w.n. w., and measures roughly about 120 by 100 m. at its greatest dimensions. Despite the fact that the top and part of the sides of the hill have been ploughed over during many centuries, and the top was covered with a very luxuriant growth of weeds at the time of our visit, numerous sherds were found both on the top and sides of Tell Abū Kharaz. The sherds belonged to EB I-II, EB IV-MB I, MB II, Iron Age I-II, and to the Roman and Byzantine periods. The EB I sherds, including fragments of "band-slip" ware, and the Iron Age I-II sherds predominated. The same types of sherds were found also on and around Tell el-Meqbereh below Tell Abū Kharaz. Indeed, we had first been led to the examination of Tell Abū Kharaz by reason of the trails of pottery fragments, which led to it from Tell el-Meqbereh (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 476-477).

There is no escaping the conclusion, both because of their physical contiguity and the similarity of pottery finds on their surfaces, that Tell Abū Kharaz and Tell el-Meqbereh must be considered as one site, the latter representing the residential section of the great fortress towering almost directly above it. One commands from Tell Abū Kharaz, better naturally than from Tell el-Meqbereh, a fine view over a large sweep of the breadth and length of the Jordan Valley, including naturally both sides of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, which courses through it. To the n. w., Beisân and Tell el-Ḥuṣn, the massive mound of ancient Beth-shân, can be clearly seen, and still farther to the n. w. in the distance, the imposing, rounded hilltop of Mount Tabor is visible. About a km. to the w. s. w.-s. w. of Tell el-Meqbereh (159) is Khirbet Mezâb et-Tût (160) on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis; Tell Sherḥabîl (158) also on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis is a little over 2 km. away to the w.-w. n. w.

The extremely well located double site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz completely dominates the westward course of the Wâdī el-Yâbis on its way to the Jordan through the fertile valley lands. The waters of this section of the Wâdī el-Yâbis have been employed for irrigation purposes from earliest historical times on. The e. side of the Jordan Valley at this point measures some four kilometers from the base of the eastern foothills to the banks of the Jordan.

^{7as} Cf. Albright, Annual XXI-XXII, pp. 12-15 and Pl. 42; APB, ed. 3, pp. 101-102; AJA, Vol. LII: 3, 1948, p. 471.



Fig. 89. Tell Abū Kharaz, with low mound of Tell el-Meqbereh in front of it, looking e.-e. s. e.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

These lands in the Jordan Valley irrigated or irrigable by the waters of the Wâdī el-Yâbis represent one of the richest sections of the exceedingly fertile n. half of the e. side of the Jordan Valley. It is interesting to note that one of the wealthiest Arabs of modern Palestine, the late Mohammed Zeinâtī of Beisân, with an understanding eye for excellent land, some years ago purchased 10,000 dunams of land on both sides of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, centered about the sites of Sherḥabîl (158a) and Tell Sherḥabîl (158), and extending e. to the double site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz (159, 159a). It was, indeed, while visiting his encampment for the first time on December 12-13, 1942, and sitting in his great guest tent, that we first saw Tell el-Meqbereh (159), and ascertained its present day name. We shall always remember his gracious hospitality.

The double site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz is the only one which agrees with the Biblical data concerning Jabesh-gilead,⁷³⁴ and is to be identified with it.⁷³⁵ The location of Jabesh-gilead has properly been sought hitherto somewhere along the Wâdī el-Yâbis in North Gilead.⁷³⁶ The Wâdī el-Yâbis ⁷³⁷ was known in all likelihood in Biblical times as the Naḥal Jabesh.⁷³⁸ Oliphant,⁷²⁹ claiming to follow Merrill, would identify Jabesh-gilead with the site of Miryamîn ⁷⁴⁰ in the broken and wooded hill country beyond the n. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, and situated about three and a half km. s. e. of Khirbet (Ṭabaqat) Faḥil (Pella).⁷⁴¹ Actually, Merrill ⁷⁴² would seem to identify Jabesh-gilead with Tell el-Maqlûb ⁷⁴³ immediately overlooking from the n. a most important crossing of the Wâdī el-Yâbis.⁷⁴⁴

⁷³⁴ I Sam. 11: 1-13; 31: 10-13; I Chron. 10: 11-12; II Sam. 2: 5-6; Judges 21: 8-14.

⁷⁸⁵ Cf. Bulletin 89, pp. 4-6; 91, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁸⁶ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 153.

⁷⁸⁷ Albright, Annual VI, p. 41, n. 86.

⁷³⁵ For the usual reading of Yabishi or Yabishiba (ma) in the Letter of Mut-ba'lu, Prince of Pella, to Yanhamu (Amarna, No. 256), and which has generally been identified with Jabesh-gilead, (cf. El-Amarna Tablets, ed. Knudtzon, 256: 28, p. 817; Merrill, East of the Jordan, pp. 325.440; ANNUAL VI, p. 41, n. 87); Albright, Bulletin 89, p. 15, n. 44, now suggests, rejecting his own previous reading of Yabishi and its identification with Jabesh-gilead, the reading of Yabilima.

⁷³⁰ The Land of Gilead, p. 174.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. above, p. 210.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. above, pp. 254-257; Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 39.

⁷⁴² East of the Jordan, p. 440.

⁷⁴³ Cf. above, pp. 211-223.

⁷⁴⁴ Before the discovery of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz, Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 41, n. 86, was inclined to place Jabesh-gilead at "el-Maqlûb or at the ruins on the southern side of the wâdī." In BJPES XIII: 3-4, Apr.-Sept. 1947, pp. 89-92, M. Naor maintains that Tell el-Maqlûb is to be identified with the site of ancient Jabesh-gilead,

Robinson,⁷⁴⁵ followed among others by Steuernagel ⁷⁴⁶ and Abel,⁷⁴⁷ would identify Jabesh-gilead with ed-Deir (Deir el-Ḥalâweh),⁷⁴⁸ the hill-site immediately w. s. w. of Tell el-Maqlûb, and overlooking from the s. the Wâdī el-Yâbis and the same crossing dominated on the opposite side of the wâdī by Tell el-Maqlûb. All these identifications have been strongly influenced by the statement of Eusebius,⁷⁴⁹ that it was six (Roman) miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa. Otherwise, with the possible exception of Tell el-Maqlûb, there is no archaeological basis for the identification of Jabesh-gilead with these sites other than their closeness to the Wâdī el-Yâbis.

Two of the Biblical accounts dealing with Jabesh-gilead are of particular importance for fixing the location of the ancient site on the e. side of the Jordan Valley by the Wâdī el-Yâbis (Nahal Jabesh):

The one story tells how the groups of Saul's army assembled at Bezeq, and (after what must probably have included a forced night's march) "came into the midst of the host (of Nahash the Ammonite) in the morning watch," defeated and dispersed the Ammonites encamped against Jabesh-gilead, and thus saved its inhabitants from the ignominy of disfigurement threatened them by Nahash.⁷⁵⁰

The other story deals with the *hesed* act of faithful obligation which all the men of valor of Jabesh-gilead showed their benefactor, when in the course of a night they journeyed to Beth-shân and back again to remove from its fortification-wall the corpses of Saul and his sons placed there by the Philistines and carry them to Jabesh-gilead for burning and the subsequent honorable burial of their bones.⁷⁵¹

The requirements for the location of Jabesh-gilead, to judge from these two Biblical vignettes, are

 that it be near enough to Bezeq in the hill country of Palestine, so that an army descending from Bezeq into and across the Jordan Valley could, by a forced march during probably part of the day and certainly all of the night, reach Jabesh-gilead in the early watch of the morning, and there surprise the besieging Ammonites;

in contradistinction to our own equation of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz with Jabesh-gilead. His arguments will be dealt with below.

T\$5 Biblical Researches, III, p. 319.

⁷⁴⁶ Der 'Adschlun, ZDPV 48, p. A. 156.

⁷⁴⁷ Géographie . . . II, p. 352.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. above, pp. 223. 224.

⁷⁴⁹ Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, Leipzig 1904, p. 32, lines 5-7; p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁷⁵⁰ I Sam. 11: 1-13.

⁷⁵¹ I Sam. 31: 10-13; I Chron. 10: 11-12.

- that it be a fairly important place situated in an open area where comparatively large armed forces could encamp;
- 3) that it be near enough to Beth-shân to learn within the day or almost on the same day about the events that had transpired in or near Beth-shân;
- that it be close enough to Beth-shân to make possible a trip on foot there and back mainly within the course of a night;
- 5) that it be situated by or very near the Wâdī el-Yâbis;
- 6) that pottery of the proper historical periods be found on the site.

The joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz is the only one which meets these requirements:

- 1) It alone could have been reached by Saul's army from Bezeq in the time and under the conditions referred to in II Samuel 11:9-11.
- (a) The exact location of Bezeq has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained, but it has been associated, without conclusive archaeological proof, with Khirbet Ibziq ⁷⁵² on the e. edge of the Palestine hill country, overlooking the troughs of the Jordan Valley and on a line with Wâdī el-Yâbis.
- (b) On the same day as Saul's assurance at Bezeq to the messengers from Jabesh-gilead that on the morrow by "the heat of the day" their city would be succoured, they started and arrived back at Jabesh-gilead to convey the glad news. Few in number and traveling light, unencumbered by the impedimenta of warfare, they apparently accomplished their trip back between morning and evening. The descent down the rugged slopes of the w. hills to the Jordan Valley, and across the expanse of the w. and e. sides of its Ghôr, with the Zôr and the river in between, represented a very respectable effort within the time limits indicated, even assuming, as we do, that they had no farther to go than the joint site now known as Tell el-Megbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz. Although the distance in a straight line as measured by a ruler on a map is only about 16 km. (granting for the present that the identification of Khirbet Ibziq as Bezeq is correct), let those unfamiliar with the terrain not imagine it could be easily negotiated within a few hours. Had they, however, been compelled to travel longer, and climb the steep slopes on the e. side of the Jordan Valley to reach a point, such as Tell el-Maglûb, some 30 km. distant from Khirbet Ibziq, overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis in the broken hill country of North Gilead, they simply could not have made the return journey soon or fast enough to be able on the very same day to have given their fellow-townsmen the glad tidings of impending deliverance. The deliverance

⁷⁵² Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, ed. 25, p. 335; Abel, p. 285; Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, Apr.-Sept. 1947, pp. 90.91; Alt, PJB 1926, pp. 49-50.

they were announcing thus hours in advance of its occurrence was to commence at the end of the night of that day, at the hour of the early morning watch of the morrow, and be completed then by the time of "the heat of the day."



Fig. 90. Tell el-Meqbereh, showing part of Jordan Valley and hills of Palestine beyond it, looking w.n.w.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

The identification of Jabesh-gilead with Tell el-Maqlûb, which has been 753 and still is being made, 754 must be rejected for the above reasons alone, aside from others which will be adduced below.

(c) The arguments which apply to the time it would have taken for the

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. Bulletin 89, p. 3; above, p. 268.

⁷⁵⁴ Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, Apr.-Sept. 1947, p. 91.

messengers to have returned from Bezeq to Jabesh-gilead, apply with even more force to the time necessary for the three companies of Saul's troops to move from Bezeq to the relief of the beleaguered city.

At whatever time of the day, after the departure of the messengers, Saul may finally have given the marching orders to his troops, his strategy obviously envisaged employing the cloak of that very night to conceal the movement of his army and deploy it in position for surprise attack at the outskirts of Jabesh-gilead well before the morning watch of the very next day. Had he been compelled after traversing the Valley to bring his troops up into the hill country on the e. side of the Jordan to Tell el-Maqlûb, the period of darkness could not possibly have sufficed to mask their journey and preserve the element of surprise attack upon which his strategy depended.

- 2) A whole host could maneuver in the plain in front and on the sides of Tell el-Meqbereh—Tell Abū Kharaz. The inhabitants apparently were not minded to venture making use of their own arms and of the fortifications of Tell Abū Kharaz to attempt to withstand the Ammonites. The same statement, to be sure, with regard to self-defense could be made were we to accept the identification of Jabesh-gilead with Tell el-Maqlûb instead of with Tell el-Meqbereh—Tell Abū Kharaz. Both Tell el-Meqbereh—Tell Abū Kharaz and Tell el-Maqlûb were important sites, and the argument concerning their being located in areas where comparatively large armed forces could encamp and maneuver would not in itself be decisive for choosing the one against the other for identification with Jabesh-gilead. It could only be used to rule out the one or the other.
- 3) The joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz is in sight of Beisân, which must have been in ancient times even more of a center for most of the n. half of the Jordan Valley (s. of the Lake of Galilee), than it is today. During the weeks of our wanderings along the e. side of this n. part of the Jordan Valley, we heard, wherever we stopped, the news of the day that travelers relayed from Beisân. By the same token, when we camped for the night at such places as Miryamîn or Tell el-Maqlûb in the hill country to the e., we found that news from Beisân percolated there much more slowly than it was conveyed to Valley sites in the vicinity of Beisân.

It may be taken for certain that a few hours after the bodies of Saul and his sons had been placed on the city-wall of ancient Beth-shân, every village in the n. half of the Jordan Valley knew about it. It is barely possible that some of the men of Jabesh-gilead visiting Beth-shân at the time may have hurried home with the direful news of the shameful treatment of the bodies of their benefactors, but that need not necessarily have been the case. There

is certainly no reason to assume, as has been done,⁷⁵⁵ that the men of Jabesh-gilead had fought alongside of Saul's men against the Philistines, and had thus learned first hand of the tragedy that befell him and his sons. However, even granting that possibility, the news of what the Philistines did later on with the bodies of the Israelite leaders would have had to be imparted subsequently to the town and inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead.

- 4) The sequence of events as recorded in the Bible, 756 shows clearly that on the morning of the day after the battle which ended so disastrously for the Israelites, the Philistines came upon the bodies of Saul and his sons, stripped them of their armor, and hauled the corpses to Beth-shân, there to subject them not only to the dishonor of lack of burial but also to the indignity of public exposure on the wall of the city. On that very day, as soon as word of this shame reached Jabesh-gilead, we are told that "all the men of valor rose and journeyed all the night . . . "757 to recover and bring back to Jabeshgilead for honorable burial the corpses of Saul and his sons. The clear sense of the passage is that the journey from Jabesh-gilead to Beth-shân and back was made in the course of a single night. The news concerning the shameful disposal of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the Philistines could, at the best, not have reached Jabesh-gilead till the afternoon of the day that the Philistines found the bodies and brought them to Beth-shân to exhibit them on their city-wall. If "all the men of valor" had left even in the late afternoon for Beth-shân, it still represented a remarkable tour de force for them to have made the approximately 30 km. trip there and back before the end of that night, carrying, or driving animals laden with, three bodies on the return journey. It would have been utterly impossible to have made that trip from Tell el-Maqlûb to Beth-shân and back in anywhere near the same amount of time, not only because of the longer distance, but because of the necessity, particularly on the homestretch, of bringing those bodies up the steep slopes on the e, side of the Valley to the site of Tell el-Maqlûb in the serrated hill country of North Gilead. The purifying burning of the defiled corpses and the decent burial of their bones,758 must then have taken place at Jabeshgilead on the second morning after the Philistines had dragged the bodies away from the field of battle where they had fallen.
- 5) Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz is immediately n. of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, which it overlooks, and meets thus the condition that the site of ancient Jabesh-gilead is to be sought by or very near the Naḥal Jabesh, which, as has been agreed generally, is unquestionably to be identified with the Wâdī el-

⁷⁸⁵ Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, p. 91.

⁷⁵⁶ I Sam. 31: 8-13.

⁷⁸⁷ I Sam. 31: 12.

⁷⁵⁸ I Sam. 31: 13.

Yâbis. To be sure, Tell el-Maqlûb, the only other possible candidate for identification with Jabesh-gilead, shares with Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz the above qualification of being located by the Wâdī el-Yâbis, but must be ruled out of consideration because of the distance factor. There are no other sites in the immediate vicinity of Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz which could possibly vie with it for identification with Jabesh-gilead.

6) If, however, even with all of the above qualifications which this joint site of Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz has for being identified with Jabesh-gilead, the proper kinds of pottery had not been found on its surface, the entire equation would still have been completely theoretical.⁷⁵⁹ If, for instance, as has been the case with some identifications of Biblical sites with modern sites, no pottery earlier than Roman had been found, an absolute prerequisite for such an identification would be lacking, and if made without it would weaken or invalidate the identification.⁷⁶⁰

We have seen above, ⁷⁶¹ to judge from pottery finds, that Tell el-Meqbereh—Tell Abū Kharaz was occupied by a sedentary, pottery manufacturing population during Iron Age I-II, not to speak of earlier occupation, going back, according to the testimony of the pottery, to the beginning of the Bronze Age. This qualification for identification with Jabesh-gilead is, to be sure, shared also by Tell el-Maqlūb, which, however, as noted above, we have ruled out because of the distance factor.

It is this distance factor which prevents us from accepting as valid the assertion by Eusebius, ⁷⁶² that Jabesh-gilead was six (Roman) miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa, and thus, in view of the position, prominence, and pottery of Tell el-Maqlûb, equating Jabesh-gilead with Tell el-Maqlûb, as some scholars have suggested. ⁷⁶³ At the best, this statement by Eusebius could have referred to one of several sites, including not only Tell el-Maqlûb but also such a site as Deir el-Ḥalâweh, w. s. w. of it on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis. ⁷⁶⁴ It is quite possible, that by his time all memory of the location of Jabesh-gilead had disappeared, and that his fixing of the approxi-

T59 Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 12-13, dealing with Zarethan in connection with Tell Sleikhât, where no pottery was found.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 23-25 dealing with Beth hay-Yesimôth and Khirbet Sweimeh, at which latter place the earliest pottery found belonged to the Roman period. The absence of pre-Roman pottery rules out any possibility of identifying Zarethan with Qarn Şarţabeh; cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁶¹ P. 266.

⁷⁶³ Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, p. 32, lines 5-7; p. 110, lines 11-13.

⁷⁶³ Cf. above, p. 268; Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, p. 92.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. above, p. 268, n. 744.

mate location of the site was as arbitrary as that of recent investigators, who, like him, did not base themselves on archaeological materials. In general, it may be said that identification of ancient sites made in the Onomasticon or in the Talmud, ⁷⁶⁵ or in comparable sources, are valuable, but should be used only as a last resort, not as primary evidence. Certainly in this particular instance, where the statement of Eusebius does not support the evidence contained in the pertinent Biblical statements, there can be no question of the primary importance of the Biblical evidence, especially when, as in this case, it is substantiated by archaeological and topographical evidence.

Khirbet Mezâb et-Tût (160)

About a km. w. s. w. of Tell el-Meqbereh (159), overlooking the s. side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, is Khirbet Mezâb et-Tût (160). The side of the Wâdī el-Yâbis. The side was occupied particularly during the mediaeval Arabic period. There were, however, also some Roman and Byzantine sherds among the quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds of all kinds. About three quarters of a km. to the s. e. of it, also overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis, is another small site (160 a), the name of which we were not able to ascertain. It was occupied, to judge from the numerous sherds found on it, particularly during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Both of these sites, even as the joint one of Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz (159, 159 a), are but a comparatively short distance removed from the point where the Wâdī el-Yâbis emerges from its canyon and begins to flow westward in a shallow bed through the Ghôr to the Jordan River. In addition to the perennial waters of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, there are on both sides of it, in the stretch between Tell el-Meqbereh (159) and Tell Sherhabîl (158) several strong springs, whose waters were also employed, in addition to those of the Wâdī el-Yâbis, to irrigate the fertile lands of this section of the Jordan Valley, once dominated by Jabesh-gilead.

Khirbet Abū Ḥabîl (161 a-b)

About 3 km. s.-s. s. e. of Tell Sherḥabîl (158) and about 3.5 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Khirbet el-Meqbereh (159) is Khirbet Abū Ḥabîl esh-Shemâlī (161a); and about half a km. to the s. s. e. of it is Khirbet Abū Ḥabîl el-Janûbī (161b).

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 10; above, p. 96, n. 219.

⁷⁶⁶ December 13, 1942; cf. ZDPV XLVIII, 1925, p. A. 339.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. above, pp. 260-261.

These two parts of what is essentially one site are separated from one another by the modern n.-s. dirt road which passes between them. The Ghôr in this particular region is quite narrow, with the eastern foothills rising close to the e. side of this site. Khirbet Abū Ḥabīl ⁷⁶⁸ is bounded on its s. side by the Wâdī el-Maqsam, which soon joins the Wâdī el-Ma'zā, through whose bed the regional run-off waters of the rainy seasons flow down to the Jordan.

It is difficult to recognize Khirbet Abū Ḥabîl as an antiquity site. With the exception of the tops of two low rises, one at each end of the two parts of the site, and on which are some modern burials, the entire place was almost completely ploughed over at the time of our visit.789 The soil of these two rises, the s. one of which is the more extensive, had the ashy-gray color, which we have remarked on with regard to other ancient sites in the Jordan Valley. 770 Crumbled mud-brick debris and other materials differentiate such soil from that of the surrounding land. At the s. w. end of the top of the s. rise are the foundation remains of what may have been an ancient watchtower. This s. rise is separated from the e, foothills by a dip in the land between it and them. In addition to the modern burials, however, which experience has demonstrated in the course of our archaeological survey are frequently placed upon antiquity sites, and to the coloration of the soil which is distinctive to the practiced eye, the nature and length of occupation of Khirbet Abū Habîl were indicated by large masses of sherds strewn over the entire area. The small spring of 'Ain Habîl is located to the n. e. of the site.

This is one of the oldest sites in the entire Jordan Valley. The largest number of sherds belonged to the Early and Middle Chalcolithic periods, some to the Late Chalcolithic, and a few apparently to the Neolithic period. There were also clear cut EBI sherds and some EBII fragments, and a number of MBI pieces. Here again, as in numerous other Jordan Valley sites, we find a gap in the history of sedentary occupation of the last phase of the EB period, as evidenced by an apparent absence of EBIV sherds in particular. There was also a small quantity of clear Iron I-II sherds. Many of these Iron I-II sherds were found near the above-mentioned foundation ruins of a watchtower, with which perhaps they are to be associated. There were also some Roman and Byzantine period sherds, aside from several early flints (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 432-435).

Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164)

About 2.5 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Khirbet Abū Ḥabîl (161) is Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164).⁷⁷¹ It is on a large, high, isolated hill, separated by a small,

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. ZDPV XLVIII, 1925, p. A. 340.

⁷⁶⁹ December 13, 1942.

⁷⁷⁰ See above, p. 261.

⁷⁷¹ December 14, 1946.

cultivated plain from the first rises of the foothills on the e, side of the Ghôr. Below its s. side is the small Wadī es-Sîreh, which farther w. becomes known as the Wâdī el-Qurn. Below its n. side is the small Rôd Umm el-Merâr. About 3.5 km, to the s. w.-w. s. w. is the prominent police post of Qurn, also known as the Jerîmeh post, on top of a natural elevation, called Tell en-Nugrah (166c), situated approximately in the center of the Valley, and commanding an excellent view for kilometers round about. To the n. n. e.-n. e. of the police post, in the Wâdî el-Qurn, is an excellent spring, called 'Ain el-Qurn. About 1.25 km. to the w.s.w. of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr is the completely natural hill named Tell Râs el-Qurn, also on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Qurn, but it is in no wise whatsoever an antiquity site. About 3.75 km. to the s. s. w.-s. w. looms up the large, completely natural hill, called Tell Sleikhât. It is one of the most prominent landmarks in the Jordan Valley, and has indeed long been identified with a prominent Biblical site.⁷⁷² Careful investigation, however, has revealed that it is, just as Tell Râs el-Qurn mentioned above, a bare hill with no traces whatsoever of ancient settlement on it of any historical period.

The top of the large hill of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr is oriented s. s. e. by n. n. w., and measures about 110 by 40 m., with its sides sloping down fairly steeply to the plain which surrounds it. Several springs rise in the foothills to the e. of this site, whose waters are utilized in part to irrigate some of its lands. One of them is called 'Ain el-Beiḍā, and its waters irrigate the slope immediately to the e. of this site.

No house remains of any kind can be seen on the surface of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr. The foundations of a wall, now almost flush with the surface of the ground, can be seen, extending up the slope of the hill from the s. s. e. to the n. n. w. It would seem merely to mark a property boundary, and may be comparatively modern. There are no present traces of an ancient city-wall enclosing the top of the hill. That the site was once intensively occupied is testified to by masses of ancient sherds found there. They spurred us on in searching for building remains, which, however, did not manifest themselves on the surface.

There were very large quantities of MB I fragments of pottery of all kinds, including envelope and ear-handles, flaring rims, and decorations of indented bands and face-combing. All of the sherds belonged to the distinctive, hard, well-baked, comparatively thin wares of MB I. Some of the Zaharet Umm el-Merâr sherds have been photographed and described together with those from Tell en-Nekheil (179) 778 (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 512.481). Several

⁷⁷³ Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 12.13; below, pp. 281.344-345. ⁷⁷⁸ Cf. below, pp. 307-308.

Roman-Byzantine sherds were found, but for all practical purposes, this settlement may be considered as being exclusively MB I, and as having been established anew in its time on virgin soil. The site it was built on had apparently never previously been occupied, nor was it subsequently settled when the MB I period came to an end. Besides the sherds, there were several worked flints, and some broken basalt mortars and querns, which, too, may well have belonged to the MB I period.

This MB I period represents one of the most flourishing periods of settlement in the Jordan Valley and in Transjordan. It is interesting to note that these MB I settlements were often established there on virgin soil, as in this particular instance of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr or others which could be cited, such as Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199a).774 That would seem to indicate several things:

- a) the probability of a severe decline if not complete gap in sedentary settlement in the preceding EB IV period, which is borne out furthermore by the very infrequent occurrence of recognizable EB IV sherds in the Jordan Valley and North Gilead;
- b) the MB I period was one of peace and prosperity and burgeoning economic development, enabling and necessitating the establishment of many sedentary settlements, a goodly number of which were located on sites which had previously never been inhabited. Others, to be sure, were built over or next to, as in the case of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī (199 a),⁷⁷⁵ the ruined sites of older settlements which had been abandoned and covered over centuries earlier;
- c) the prosperity and culture of the MB I period resulted in the development of a unique and fine ceramic art, which cannot be regarded as developing directly from the ceramic art of the end of the EB period preceding it.

Khirbet 'Ain el-Beida (164 a)

About a km. e. of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164), on top of a ridge in the foothills to the e. of it, is Khirbet 'Ain el-Beiḍā (164a). The waters of the springs of 'Ain el-Beiḍā and 'Ain Abū Fellaḥ, which rise still higher

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16. The lug- or ear-handles, which we assumed, Bulletin 100, p. 10 (cf. ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, Pl. 18: 5), must have existed at Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī (199 a), occurred frequently at Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164).

 $^{775}\,Bulletin$ 100, pp. 7.8. The MBI settlement of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199 a) is less than a quarter of a km. removed from the Chalcolithic–EBI settlement of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199 b), but there is a distance in time of almost a thousand years from the end of the EBI settlement to the beginning of its MBI successor.

in the foothills to the e. of Khirbet 'Ain el-Beidā, are partially employed to irrigate the w. slope below it. The narrow ridge on which this site is located, with its comparatively level top, is oriented w.s. w. by e.n.e. and measures about 90 by 10 m. Small $wudy\hat{a}n$ bound its n. and s. sides, respectively, with the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ on the n. side serving as the path downward for the waters of the springs. No ruins whatsoever were found on this ridge. There were, however, some Byzantine sherds, indicating that there may at one time have been several Byzantine houses there. The possibility must also be considered that the sherds may have come from vessels used by shepherds camping there during the early Byzantine period.

el-Qurn (165 a)

About 2.5 km. w.-w.s. w. of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164) is the small, ploughed-over site of el-Qurn (165 a), near the center of the valley, on a low rise overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī el-Qurn. Below it to e.s. e., in the Wâdī el-Qurn, is the excellent spring of 'Ain el-Qurn. Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there, and some large foundation remains were visible.'

Tell Heneideh (162)

About 2 km. s. s. e. of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164) is Tell Heneideh (162), situated on top of an almost completely isolated hill, connected by a narrow saddle with the foothills on the e. side of the valley. This site commands an excellent view to the w. and the s. over the Ghôr. The landmark of Tell Sleikhât stands out about 2 km. to the s. w. of it, and the police post of el-Qurn is visible on its hill about 3 km. to the w. n. w. Numerous Byzantine sherds were found on the hilltop, among various foundation ruins and fallen pillar drums. It seems likely that a Byzantine church once stood there. To the n., beyond a small intervening plain, is a semi-circular range of foothills, which thrust themselves farther w. into the valley than this hill of Tell Heneideh.

Tell Hejeijeh (163)

Almost immediately to the n.e.-n.n.e. of Tell Heneideh (162) is Tell Hejeijeh (163), on top of a high, steep hill, whose upper slopes were anciently terraced in places. On top of this steep hill, which is connected by a small saddle to the hills rising to the e. of it, are some modern graves,—an almost certain indication of an antiquity site. The associations, however vague, with the past, the dryness of the location, and the difficulty perhaps also of utilizing many of such antiquity sites with their foundation remains for cultivation,

⁷⁷⁶ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 431.

seem to give them preference in the eyes of the modern inhabitants of the areas concerned for burial of their dead. This hilltop site of Tell Hejeijeh commands an even better view than Tell Heneideh, being almost twice as high. Mt. Tabor in Palestine is clearly visible from it.

Below the n. side of Tell Hejeijeh, there gushes forth the very strong spring of 'Ain Hejeijeh, with a fine grove of old and very large sidr trees flourishing along its sides and the beginnings of the downward plunge of its waters. We were told that the water from this spring flows down through the Wâdī Jeraḥ and then into the Wâdī 'Ain el-Beiḍā, but we did not have time to check on the correctness of this statement.

On the very top of this hill-site and its uppermost slopes, we found numerous but exceedingly worn sherds. The earliest of them, including about a dozen hole-mouth rims, belonged clearly to EB,⁷⁷⁷ with the likelihood that they are to be assigned to the first part of that period. There were several burnished fragments, which we hesitate to date, because they were too small and too worn to be decisive about. There were also some clear Iron I-II sherds, including painted fragments, as well as fairly numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds, aside from some worked flints, which probably belong to the EB period.

It is possible that this site was not inhabited the entire year long during its various periods of occupation, but only during the winter months by people who came with their flocks from the hills of Gilead. We learned, for instance, from the few families residing at the nearby tiny village of Sleikhât, about a km. to the s.-s. s. w., that they live most of the year in Khirbet Wahâdneh, about 3 km. to the e. of Sleikhât, in the lower, w. hill region of Gilead, but spend the winter months at Sleikhât. This need not of course have been the case in ancient times either with regard to the former inhabitants of the village of Sleikhât or of Tell Hejeijeh, who could well have resided at either place all year long.

Khirbet Sleikhât (166 a)

About 1.3 km. s. s. w. of Tell Hejeijeh (163) is Khirbet Sleikhât (166 a), 778 at the beginning of the foothills on the e. side of the Ghôr. It is immediately w. of the tiny, modern Arabic village of Sleikhât, which, as has just been pointed out, is sparsely inhabited during the winter months by a few families from Khirbet Wahadneh. Khirbet Sleikhât is on a low rise, immediately overlooking the n. side of the small Wâdī Sleikhât. This $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, coming out of the e. hills, passes through a tiny little valley of its own, which merges soon

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 257. 778 I

⁷⁷⁸ Dec. 15, 1942; Feb. 20, 1943.

with the broader expanse of the Ghôr proper. The low rise of Khirbet Sleikhât was marked by some indistinguishable foundation-ruins, level with the ground. The Among them, and round about the site, were found numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The modern village of Sleikhât obtains its water supplies from the flow furnished by several springs farther e, in the Wâdī Sleikhât.

Tell Sleikhât (166 b)

A km. to the s. w. of Khirbet Sleikhât (166 a) is the great, outstanding landmark of Tell Sleikhât (166b). It is a long, high, very prominent, completely isolated hill, oriented n.-s., situated between the beginnings of the e. foothills and the road, or rather track, that runs n.-s. through the length of the e. half of the Jordan Valley. With its comparatively flat top and sloping sides, it looks like a very large, very important tell, and in the past has been taken as such and identified with the Biblical site of Zarethan,780 This relationship between Tell Sleikhât and Zarethan will be discussed in detail below.⁷⁸¹ Not only were there no traces of buildings on this so-called tell, which would not be too unusual, but repeated visits and most careful examination failed to reveal any sherds except a few Byzantine ones, which can be found in almost any field anywhere in the Jordan valley. The police post on top of the hill of Tell en-Nuqrah (166c) is about 2 km. to the n.w. of it. Some fields to the n, of it are irrigated by the waters of 'Ain Sleikhât, On the e, side of the great isolated hill of Tell Sleikhât is a small plain, which separates it from the e. foothills. To the s., the imposing mound of Tell el-Handaqûq (168) and the magnificent mound of Tell Deir'alla (184) are visible, among others. There is a splendid view also to the s., over the at first widening and then narrowing Ghôr being hemmed in by the convergence of the Wâdī Zerqā with the River Jordan (Fig. 91).

Tell el-'Agâreb (166)

Less than 2 km. w.-w. s. w. of Khirbet Sleikhât (166 a), and about 1.4 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of the el-Qurn police post on Tell en-Nuqrah (166 c), and a little over a km. w. n. w.-n. w. of Tell Sleikhât (166 b), is Tell el-'Aqâreb (166) ⁷⁸² in the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh. It represents a small hill rising out of the valley. The location of this site by Steuernagel s. of Tell Sleikhât is definitely wrong, ⁷⁸³ unless he confused this site with Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167), which is

⁷⁷⁹ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 341; RB VIII, 1911, p. 416.

⁷⁸⁰ Bulletin 90, pp. 12.13.

⁷⁸² Dec. 15, 1942.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. p. 345.

⁷⁸³ ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 431.

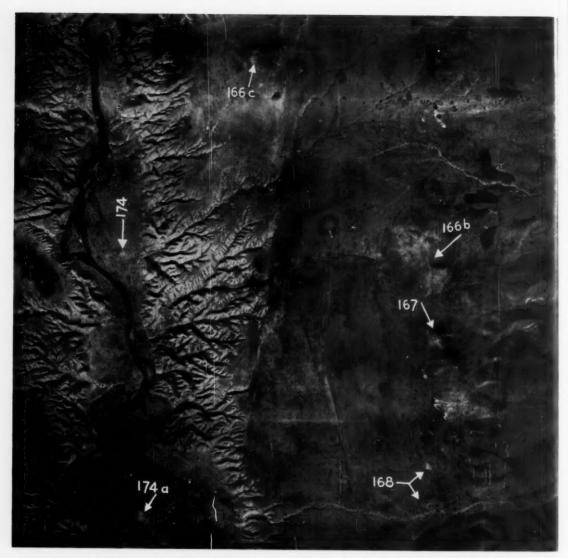


Fig. 91. River Jordan at left, showing cultivated pockets of its Zôr, in which are Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh (174) and Tell Abû esh-Shart (174a). Above them, the furrowed qaṭṭârah hills lead up to the Ghôr. At the right center is visible the large, completely natural hill, called Tell Sleikhāt (166b). Below it is Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167), and the elongated, narrow hill-site of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168), which overlooks the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣarâr.

At the top is Tell en-Nuqrah (166c).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

s. s. e. of Tell Sleikhât. The top of the knoll of Tell el-'Aqâreb is oriented n. w.-w. n. w. by s. e.-e. s. e., and measures about 65 by 45 m. The foundation remains of a large, outer stone wall encircling the ancient site could be made out, but it could not be definitely ascertained, without some clearances, whether this outer wall measured 2.5 or 3 m. thick.

At the w. end of the wall-enclosed top of the knoll are the jumbled foundation remains of a large stone tower. At the e. end of the site are the remains of what may have been a more or less similar tower, but they are less distinguishable than those at the opposite end of the site. Large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds were found, with most of them belonging to Iron Age II. A small number of exceedingly worn sherds was found in addition, which seemed to belong to an earlier period, and indeed perhaps to EB. There were some Roman-Byzantine sherds also. The Iron Age sherds gave evidence of prolonged occupation during that period. It may well be that the towers represented the Iron Age equivalent of the modern police post built by the Arab Legion on Tell en-Nuqrah (166 c) to the n. w.-w. n. w. Tell el-'Aqâreb was, however, more than that. It was also the center of an agricultural settlement, which farmed the adjacent lands in this narrow part of the e. side of the Jordan valley.

Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167)

Less than a km, to the s, s, e, of Tell Sleikhât (166 b), and 1.75 km, s, s, w, of Khirbet Sleikhât (166 a), and almost 3 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of the modern police post on the hill of Tell en-Nugrah (166c), is Tell Abū Dahnûn (167), sometimes called Tell ed-Dahnûn. It is on top of a high hill on the very e. side of the valley. This hill is one of the outrunners of the foothills, which mark the beginnings of the ascent to the broken plateau of Gilead on the e. side of the Jordan. The village of Sleikhât and the police post on Tell en-Nuqrah are visible from it. Tell el-'Agâreb (166), about 1.5 km. to the n. w.-w. n. w. of it, cannot be seen because of an intervening hill. The n. w. end of the top of Tell Abū Dahnûn forms the highest part of its hill. At this end are the ruins of a large, stone tower, measuring roughly about 20 m. square, whose walls seemed to be about 1.20 m. thick. This tower seems also to have been strengthened by a glacis, which is visible particularly on the w. side. The hilltop is oriented n. w. by s. e., and its occupied area measures about 40 by 35 m. There are no present traces of an outer fortification wall enclosing the settlement. At the e.s.e. end of the site are the foundation remains of what may possibly have been another tower, corresponding more or less to the one at the n. w. end. Near the top of the n. slope of the hill, below the tower at the n. w. end, are the foundation remains of another building, which was approximately 10 m. square. There were some other building remains also. The w. slope of the hill descends in three major terraces to the plain below. Numerous Iron Age I-II sherds were found, most of them on the w. side of the hill. In addition, some Roman-Byzantine sherds were found (Fig. 91).

Tell Zôr el-Megbereh (174)

Somewhat less than 3.5 km. w.n.w. of Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167), and a little over 3 km. w.-w. s. w. of Tell Sleikhât (166 b), is Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh (174). It is a comparatively small mound, with pronounced tell-like formation. Its top is oriented n.n.w. by s. s. e., and measures about 35 by 10 m. It stands in the midst of a cultivated pocket of the Zôr, bounded on the w. by the sinuous Jordan river and on the e. by a slightly curving line of chalky qaṭṭârah hills. These mark a steep, broken rise of over 50 m. from the level of the Zôr to that of the Ghôr above it to the e. Springs issuing from the base of the qaṭṭârah hills suffice to irrigate considerable patches of the approximately one square km. area of the Zôr el-Meqbereh. The Jordan river makes a camel-back bend around the w. side of the Zôr el-Meqbereh, with the top of the hump of the bend pointing to the w. side of the Jordan. Thre is no corresponding Zôr on the w. side of the river opposite Zôr el-Meqbereh, because the qaṭṭârah hills on the w. side come straight down to the water's edge, with the result that the banks there are very steep indeed.

Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh is near the s.e. end of the Zôr el-Meqbereh. Some exceedingly worn sherds were found on the top and slopes of the featureless mound, of which about 10 pieces could unquestionably be assigned to Iron Age I-II, with a number of others being Roman and Byzantine. The population pressure and requirements for land must have been strong in the Iron Age, not to speak of the Roman and Byzantine periods, to have compelled the settlement and cultivation of such little pockets of land as represented by the Zôr el-Meqbereh. The fact remains that apparently all of these pockets were utilized wherever possible. On the one hand, however, it should be remembered that sections of the Zôr, cleared of their thickets, provide the most fertile kind of land, and on the other hand, in the instance of Zôr el-Meqbereh, an important track led from the e. to the w. down across it to the ford across the Jordan, known as the Makhâḍat el-Meqbereh.

The richness of the land in any cultivated section of the Zôr of the Jordan, or of the Zôr of the Yarmûk as it converges with the Jordan, is well illustrated, for example, by the fertile gardens and vineyards and fields of the Bahai settlement of 'Adasîyeh. The site of 'Adasîyeh is located in a broad

⁷⁸⁴ Dec. 16, 1942.

section of the Zôr of the Yarmûk above the point where the Yarmûk empties into the reservoir formed by damming up its waters with those of the Jordan. An air photograph shows a large mound in the center of the 'Adasîyeh lands, which we did not find opportunity to examine (Fig. 91a).

Tell Abū esh-Shart (174a)

About 2.7 km. s. s. e. of Tell Zôr el-Megbereh (174) is a knoll, called Tell Abū esh-Shart (174a), situated in a pocket of the Zôr very similar to that of the Zôr el-Megbereh in which Tell Zôr el-Megbereh (174) is located, with the difference that the Zôr Abū esh-Shart is better watered and today more intensively cultivated than the Zôr el-Meqbereh above it (Fig. 91). The knoll of Tell Abū esh-Shart in its Zôr is approximately opposite the line of the Wâdī eş-Şarâr, which crosses the higher Ghôr in an almost straight line from e. to w., but which has no perennial stream of water. We found no sherds on the knoll of Tell Abū esh-Shart (174a), but feel that it must have been occupied certainly during the same Iron Age and later periods as Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh, where we found only a comparatively small number of much worn sherds, of which only a handful was recognizable and could be dated. Tell Abū esh-Shart (174a) stands approximately in the s. center of its Zôr. This Zôr is quite intensively cultivated and irrigated by several strong springs, the s. one of which is known as the 'Ain Ambîrā and the other to the n. w. of it as the 'Ain Solma. Their waters are led into irrigation ditches from two channels which skirt the base of the chalky, qattarah hills on the e. side of the Zôr, from which the springs gush forth. These qattârah-hills form a deep semi-circular enclosure around the e. side of the Zôr Abū esh-Shart, with the twisting Jordan river forming a deep, truncated triangle around the opposite side to the w. The truncated end of this triangle abuts directly against the gattârah hills on the w. side of the Jordan, with the result that the entire part of the Zôr Abū esh-Shart is on the e, side of this stretch of the river. The ford of Makhâdat Abū esh-Shart crosses the Jordan on a line parallel with the s, end of the mound, at a point where another bend in the river begins to make room for a Zôr on its w. side.

Tell el-Handaqûq (168)

About 1.5 km. to the s. s. w. of Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167) is Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168),⁷⁸⁶ near the e. side of the Ghôr. It is situated on top of a long, high hill, oriented roughly n.-s. Its fairly flat top, whose highest point is at the s. end, measures about 150 by 20 m. The site occupies a very commanding

 $^{^{786}}$ Dec. 15, 1942; cf. $G\acute{e}ographie$. . . II, p. 34; RB VIII, 1911, p. 416; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 341; TG I, p. 156.



Fig. 91 a. The mound and village and cultivated lands of 'Adas yeh, around the n. and w. sides of which the Yarmûk river twists before emptying into the Yarmûk-Jordan reservoir.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

position. Visible from it, from the n.n.e. to the n.n.w., are, respectively, Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167), the village of Sleikhât, and the police post on Tell en-Nuqrah (166c). To the s., the Ghôr widens out considerably, increasing in size gradually till it reaches the point where the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbôq) emerges from its canyon in the hills and turns s.w. to join the Jordan. A small plain intervenes between the high hill of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq and the rising foothills on the e. side of the valley. The least steep side of the hill is on the e. side, where a series of wide stone walls descending the slope seem to mark off separate strips of property. It is hard to resist some trite remark about the human habit of fencing off bits of property for private use. The archaeologist must measure and may ruminate about the fences, when all ownership of the property involved has long evaporated under the alchemy of time. The slope of the w. side of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq is very steep. Cutting across the base of the s. side of the hill is the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣarâr, which comes out of the e. hills and cuts a shallow path for itself w. across the valley.

On the top of the hill, whose highest point is at the s. end, are the clear foundation ruins of various buildings. There are no present traces of an outer fortification wall encompassing the fairly flat top of the hill. Mallon 787 refers to a Tell Ḥandaqûq, where apparently there are fortification walls and ramparts, but his location is so vague that we believe some confusion must have arisen somehow in his report about it. His text reads:

"La telle que les indigenes appellant Handaquq est situé sur une colline au bord sud du Zerqa, en face de Tell el-Ḥammeh. Très étendu, il est ceint de ramparts munis de tours . . .".

Now there is a Tell el-Ḥammeh (190), which we shall discuss below, ⁷⁸⁸ and which is located on the Wâdī Zerqā, not far from Tell Deir'allā (184), but there is no Tell el-Ḥandaqûq on the Wâdī Zerqā. In fact, the only Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168) that we have encountered in the Jordan Valley is some 13 km. n.w. of the Tell el-Ḥammeh (190) in the Wâdī Zerqā. Mallon's description of the nature of the site of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq and his remarks in general about the types of pottery found there would seem to indicate that he had in mind the very same Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168) overlooking the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣarâr, that we are discussing. Mallon also refers to Tell Munṭâḥ (198) in the center of the Jordan Ghôr between the converging Wâdī Zerqā and the Jordan river, which, however, is about 6 km. s. w. of Tell Deir'allā (184), as "Tell Munṭâḥ au Zerqā," ⁷⁸⁹ and refers to the "Hyksos" pottery he found there. To add to the confusion created thus by Mallon with regard to the locations of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq and Tell Munṭâḥ, he has been misunderstood

⁷⁸⁷ TG I, pp. 156. 160.

and quoted as saying that he found Late Chalcolithic gray-burnished ware of the "Esdraelon culture" at both of these places. 790

We found large numbers of sherds on Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168), most of which may be dated to Late Chalcolithic and EBI, with some of them going back to Middle Chalcolithic and others extending forward into EBII. It is not impossible that gray-burnished sherds of the Late Chalcolithic "Esdraelon Culture" period may have occurred there, and been found by Mallon, if this is indeed the Tell el-Ḥandaqûq which he examined. He says also that he found sherds belonging to the beginning of MB, ⁷⁹¹ of which type, to be sure, we did not find a single scrap (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 468-471). And at Tell Munţâḥ (198), we found not a scrap of the "Hyksos" MBII pottery Mallon mentioned, if that is the same Tell Munţâḥ that Mallon refers to, ⁷⁹² and indeed we found no sherds earlier than Roman there, unless we completely missed the sherds of the earlier period. Certainly nowhere that we can find does Mallon speak of discovering Chalcolithic gray-burnished ware at Tell Munţâḥ or for that matter at Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (Fig. 91).

Tell el-Kereimeh (169)

A little over 3 km. to the s. s. e. of Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168) is Tell el-Kereimeh (169), 793 overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, in which there is a perennial stream of water. It is situated on a small knoll, on top of which is an Arab Legion police post. The modern building has been constructed over and in part out of ancient foundations. The splendid mound of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh (172) is clearly visible to the w.-w. s. w. on the s. side of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, as is Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168) to the n. n. w., and Tell Deir'allā (184) to the s. e.-s. s. e. Mt. Tabor in Palestine is also visible from it. The foothills on the e. side of the Ghôr begin less than half a km. away to the e. The waters of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh are led through a canal to the n. side of the tell and then into irrigation ditches to irrigate the lands beyond it. Large numbers of Iron I-II sherds of all kinds were found on the top and slopes of

⁷⁹⁰ Engberg, MT, p. 144; Engberg and Shipton, NCEB, pp. 61.62; Wright, PPEB, p. 42.

⁷⁹¹ Mallon, TG I, p. 156: "..., surtout innombrables tessons de poterie. Ceux-ci appartiennent au Bronze Ancien et à la première partie du Bronze Moyen. On peut signaler en particulier les cols légèrement évasés, les cordons à empreintes digitables et à incision imitant les cordes, le vase à bec, le vase double, les bonds inverses, petits, moyens, grands, plats et inclinés, l'oreillette horizontale, l'oreillette ondulée grande et petite, le décor strié (peigné) uni et en motifs s'entrecoupant, le décor au lustre rouge, uni, en bandes parallèles et en quadrillé."

⁷⁹² TG I, p. 160.

⁷⁹⁸ Dec. 16, 1942.

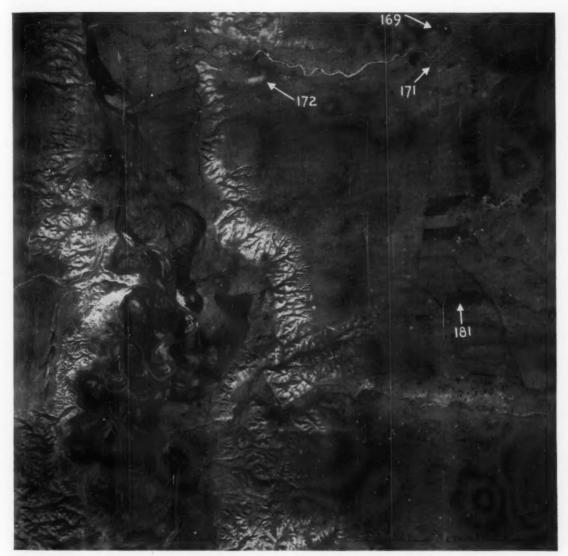


Fig. 92. Tell el-Kereimeh (169) at e. side of Ghôr, and on n. side of Wâdī Kufrinjeh. Opposite it on s. side, is Tell el-Qelâyā (171); and large site of Tell es-Saʿīdīyeh (172) at w. end of Ghôr overlooking the marl, qaṭṭārah hills leading down to the Zôr, through which the Jordan flows. N. of Wâdī Râjeb is Khirbet Beweib (181).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

the mound, including numerous painted sherds. Some of the sherds could be assigned to LBII, including some painted ones and some sharply profiled, collared cooking rims.⁷⁹⁴ There were also fairly numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds on the site (Fig. 92. 93).

Tell Abū Dhahab (170)

On top of a steep hill, belonging to the e. foothills on the e. side of the Ghôr, is Tell Abū Dhahab (170), about a km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell el-Kereimeh (169). There are no building remains whatsoever, and only a few Byzantine sherds were found, which may or may not have come from a tiny Byzantine settlement there. Roman and Byzantine sherds can be frequently found in distant fields, a considerable distance from the settlements of their origin.

Tell el-Qelâyā (171)

Immediately s. of Tell el-Kereimeh (169), on the s. side of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, is Tell el-Qelâyā (171). To It is on a small rise, whose top covers an area of about 20 square m. On it are large foundation remains, most of which are probably no earlier than mediaeval Arabic. The small village of Kereimeh is less than half a km. due e. of this site. Aside from some Byzantine and fairly numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds, there were found some clear Iron Age I-II sherds, one inverted rim which could belong to MBI, and one well-preserved, large, semi-elliptical ledge-handle, with bright reddishbuff top surface, and reddish-brown bottom surface, with nicks or scalloping along the outer edge of the handle. This ledge-handle probably belongs to the Late Chalcolithic period, but possibly could be assigned to EB. I. 796 No other sherds were found which could definitely be associated with it, but there must have been or still are others on this site covered up by the accretions of later ages. Other fragments of sherds were found, so worn and small, however, as to be practically indistinguishable and of no help in fixing more definitely the dates of occupation of the site by sedentary settlements. It would seem most likely that there was occupation during most of the EB period as well as during most of the MB and LB periods (Fig. 92).

Tell es-Sa'idîyeh (172)

Two and a half km. due w. of the village of Kereimeh, and 2 km. w. of Tell el-Qelâyā (171), is the magnificent site of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh (172),⁷⁹⁷ over-

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Albright, ANNUAL XII, pp. 40.50.51.

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 343.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. Builetin 97, Pl. 8: 3. 5. 8; 101, Pl. 20: 1; ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, Pl. 16: 1; MT., Pl. 77: 2-7.

 $^{^{797}}$ Cf. Annual VI, p. 46; RB VIII, 1911, p. 415; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 343; Bulletin 90, pp. 7-9. 12-13.



Fig. 93. Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh (172). Looking w.s.w. from top of Tell Abū Dhahab (170) over Tell el-Kereimeh (160), with its police-post, on n. side of Wâdl Kufrinjeh, and Tell el-Qelâyā (171), represented by whitish patch, opposite it on s. side, at Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh (172) in upper center s. side. In background, beyond Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh, are visible the marl, qatţârah hills, between which the Jordan flows in its Zôr. Beyond them, part of the Ghôr and hills of Palestine are visible.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

looking directly the s. side of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. Tell el-Ḥandaqûq (168) is clearly visible from it about 4.5 km. to the n. e.-n. n. e., as are various tulûl in the Jordan Valley to the s. of it. Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh is actually composed of two sites or rather of two parts, an e. and a w. part, which we shall call, respectively, Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh esh-Sherqī and Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh el-Gharbī (Fig. 94.95). The e. part, Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh esh-Sherqī, is situated on top of a completely isolated, striking, rectangularly shaped hill; the w. part, Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh el-Gharbī, immediately below the w. side of this hill, consists of a low mound or bench contiguous to the main hill. From the air, this combined site is even more impressive than when seen on foot. I have flown over it on several occasions, the last time being on April 11, 1946, in the company of the then High Commissioner of Palestine, General Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham (Fig. 92).

Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh esh-Sherqī, oriented w.-e., measures roughly about 115 by 90 m. on the top of its hill. Some building foundations are visible on the top of this site, which slopes upward slightly from e. to w. At the w. end of the site, on its highest point, are the foundation ruins of a large fortress-tower. It is impossible to tell from a surface examination of the top of the hill whether or not all of it or part of it was once enclosed within an outer fortification wall. From the air, however, it becomes indubitably clear, that a strong city-wall once surrounded the entire site. The outlines of the foundations of some of the houses on the site become apparent from the air, in addition to those readily visible on the surface.

On the slopes and particularly on the top of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh esh-Sherqī were very large numbers of sherds, most of which belonged to Iron Age I-II, with Iron Age II predominating among them. There were also smaller numbers of EB I-II and MB I sherds, with several others which could be assigned to MB II and to LB II, aside from some Roman and Byzantine sherds.

A moderate slope leads down from the top of the w. end of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh esh-Sherqī to a large, low, rectangular mound or bench about 15 m. below, which is definitely separated from it. Oriented n.-s., this mound or bench of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh el-Gharbī, measures about 90 by 40 m., with foundation remains of a large building at its n. w. end divided into two main rooms or sections. On the top and slopes of this bench and round about it were very numerous sherds belonging mainly to EB I-III and to MB I, but including also some MB II and LB II and numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, as well as some Roman and Byzantine sherds. And across a 40 m. wide dip to the w. of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh el-Gharbī, on a still lower bench of much the same size, we

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 7.

found not only additional EB sherds belonging mainly to EB I-II, as on Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh el-Gharbī, but several clear and very striking sherds of the Early Chalcolithic period with bands of chevron or herring-bone incisions between alternating bands of reddish-brown paint. This last-mentioned bench, however, would seem to have been outside of the anciently inhabited area, and



Fig. 94. Looking e. n. e. at Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh el-Gharbī and at w. base of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh esh-Sherqī.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

may be regarded as belonging to the beginning of the *qaṭṭârah* hills which mark the descent from the w. edge of the Ghôr to the Zôr below it. Excavations may reveal the presence of a Chalcolithic and EB necropolis in this stretch between the w. edge of Tell es-Saʿidîyeh el-Gharbī and the w. edge of the Ghôr overlooking the *qaṭṭârah*-descent to the Zôr (cf. *Pottery Notes*, pp. 483-487).

The great, double site of Tell es-Sa'idîyeh is located thus very near the w. edge of the plain of the Ghôr, being just a little over 1.5 km. e. of the Jordan

river, which is clearly visible from it, flowing through the Zôr below. Immediately below the n. side of the great tell is the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, whose waters



Fig. 95. Looking w. from top of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh esh-Sherqī at foundation ruins of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh el-Gharbī below it. In the background are visible the qaṭṭārah hills on the w. side of the Jordan, and above them the w. side of the Ghôr and the hills of Palestine.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

empty into the Jordan. Just at this point, below the n. side of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh, a number of fine springs gush forth from the earth to swell the stream of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. To the e. of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh stretches the partly irrigated

and rather intensively cultivated expanse of one of the widest parts of the entire Jordan Valley. The Wâdī Kufrinjeh, which furnished the perennial water supply to the inhabitants of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh certainly from Chalcolithic times on, forms a distinctive boundary line between the areas to the n. and to the s. of it. It is the s. boundary of the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh,⁷⁹⁹ and the n. boundary line of the Ghôr el-Belawneh.

The imposing and strategically located site of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh is one we feel that must have been known, at least by name, far and wide in Biblical times, and might well be mentioned in the Bible. However, as we shall attempt to explain later on, soo sites were not necessarily mentioned in the pages of the Bible because of their intrinsic importance, but rather because of their relationship to some historical event or personality, which fitted in with the kind of theologically oriented history, with which the writers of the pages of the Bible were concerned.

Tell Abū Fesh (173)

In the Zôr, and somewhat over a km. n. w.-w. n. w. of the Ghôr position of Tell es-Saʿūdiyeh (172) above it, is Tell Abū Fesh (173), which occupies much the same position and is much the same type of site as Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh (174) and Tell Abū esh-Shart (174a). It is situated on an isolated knoll, whose steepest side is the w. one, in the midst of the Zôr, which is bounded on the w. by the Jordan River and by a semicircle of qaṭṭārah hills beyond it. Several excellent springs erupting from the base of these qaṭṭārah hills furnish sufficient water to irrigate a considerable part of this small, secluded area of the Zôr. On top of Tell Abū Fesh are some modern graves. There were also some foundation ruins flush with the surface of the top of the site. Numerous sherds were found on the top and particularly along the slopes and around the base of Tell Abū Fesh, including some MB II and LB II as well as some Iron Age I-II sherds, and several Roman-Byzantine fragments.

Khirbet Felâh (180)

About 2 km. s.-s. s. e. of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh, situated on the very e. side of a pocket of the Zôr, half enclosed by a semicircle of qaṭṭārah hills rising to the floor of the Ghôr above, is the tiny modern settlement of Khirbet Felâḥ (180), soi built over a small Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic ruined site. There are several miserable houses there, and the inhabitants cultivate this particular area of the Zôr extending to the Jordan. A small number of Byzan-

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. ZDPV 48, p. A. 341,

^{*00} Cf. Bulletin 89, pp. 2-6; 90, p. 4.

⁸⁰¹ Dec. 18, 1942.

tine sherds and several mediaeval Arabic sherds were found on the piles of debris in and around this tiny site. The site, which was hardly worth visiting, except for the necessity of methodically examining every possible place of settlement in ancient times, demonstrated again the fact that, wherever possible, the Zôr too was cultivated in ancient times, and particularly during periods of heavy sedentary settlement.

Khirbet Beweib (181)

About 1.5 km. e. s. e.-s. e. of Khirbet Felâḥ (180) is Khirbet Beweib (181) 802 in the Ghôr. It is about 2.5 km. s. e. of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh (172) and about 2.25 km. to the w. n. w. of Tell el-Qôs (175) on the very e. side of the Ghôr. Khirbet Beweib consists of a low, hardly discernible rise, immediately above the spring of 'Ain Beweib, which is below its s. w. side. A series of springs rises immediately to the s. w., which can be called the 'Ayûn Beweib, and forms a strong little stream flowing in the tiny wâdī immediately s. of Khirbet Beweib. There are no foundation or wall ruins of any kind visible on the surface of the low mound other than the ruins of a contemporary stone hut. The mound covers about an acre in extent. It rises very gradually on the e. side, with its highest side being on the w. Beyond it to the w.-w. s. w. are visible the beginnings of the descent through branches of wudyân leading down through the qattârah hills to the Zôr below.

We found numerous sherds on this site, most of them being clear-cut MB I sherds of all kinds, with no sherds apparently of any earlier period. This represents another of the MBI settlements in the Jordan valley and Transjordan established on virgin soil,803 with no connection with or transition from the sedentary civilization and settlements of the immediate past. Practically none of the MBI sites that we have found in the Jordan Valley and North Gilead have been built upon the remains of the preceding EB IV period, of which, indeed, as has been previously mentioned, only few traces have been discovered in North Gilead and the Jordan Valley, 804 In addition to the numerous MBI sherds, some Iron I-II and a small quantity of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found. It may be well to mention here, that the fact that indubitable Hellenistic sherds are not always found on a site where Roman sherds occur, does not necessarily mean that they did not exist there, but may frequently have been covered over or swept aside by the building operations which were more extensively engaged in during the Roman and Byzantine periods than any other. We have found some clear Hellenistic sherds in the

⁸⁰² Cf. Bulletin 92, p. 27.

⁸⁰³ Cf. above, p. 273, n. 755.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 19.

Jordan Valley, including fragments of Rhodian jar-handles ⁸⁰⁵ (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 437-438). We shall discuss later on in connection with the identification of Tell el-Qôs (175), which we have equated with the Biblical site of Zaphon, ⁸⁰⁶ the possibility of identifying Khirbet Beweib with the Hellenistic-Roman site of Asophon, ⁸⁰⁷ as the Grecized version of the roving Biblical name of Zaphon became known.

Tell el-Qôs (175)

Overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī Râjeb, as it emerges from the e. hills and its widening little valley joins with the e. side of the Jordan valley, is the great mound of Tell el-Qôs (175).808 It is about 5 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Tell es-Sa'idîveh (172) and 2.7 km, n. e. of Tell el-Mazâr (178), and 4 km, e.-e. s. e. of Khirbet Felâh (180). Less than half a km. to the s. s. w. of it is Tell 'Ammata (176). It commands a great sweep of the rich valley lands of the Ghôr, particularly to the w. and s. of it. It guards the entrance to and exit from the hill country of Gilead via the important Wâdī Râjeb with its perennial flow of water. The community entrenched on Tell el-Qôs always controlled in effect the westward flow of the waters of the Wadī Rajeb, which throughout previous historical millennia were diverted for irrigation purposes, making possible a flourishing agricultural economy, varying only according to the dynamism of the inhabitants and their ability to preserve peace. Today, too, extensive areas particularly on the n. side of the Wadī Rajeb are irrigated into rich productivity with its waters. Tell el-Qôs stands thus astride the e.-w. road leading across the valley, and masters also the n.-s. track which leads past it along the length of the valley. It is a naturally important site, and was almost compulsorily picked out, certainly from earliest historical times onward, for settlement and fortification (Fig. 96).

Situated at the e. edge of the Ghôr, Tell el-Qôs is separated from the hills that rise to the Gilead highlands by a small, deep dip to the e. of it. Directly below it to the n., is a small, dry $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which helps to completely isolate this outspur of the e. foothills,—which is what the large hill of Tell el-Qôs essentially is. On the n. side of the small, dry $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ rise the slopes of other hills which block the view from Tell el-Qôs into the Jordan Valley to the n. At the s. w. base of the hill on which Tell el-Qôs stands are several modern houses. There are some broken down, comparatively modern water mills along the s. side of the Wâdī Râjeb.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. above, pp. 240-241, dealing with Tell el-Medwar (140).

sos Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 19-23.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 27-28; 92, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁰⁸ Dec. 17, 1942; Bulletin 90, p. 21.



Fig. 96. N. of Wådi Råjeb is the hill-site of Tell el-Qôs (175), with arrows pointing to its w. and s. w. base; below it is Tell 'Ammatā (176). S. of Wådi Råjeb is Tell el-Ghazalā (177), with Tell el-Mazâr (178) s. w. of it. To the e. of Tell 'Ammatā (176), rows of black tents of a large Arab encampment can be made out.

(Phot. Royal Åir Force, Levant).

The Wâdī Râjeb, like the Wâdī Kufrinjeh to the n. of it, forms a distinctive boundary line across the Jordan Valley. The rich, largely irrigated area between these two wudyan is known as the Ghor el-Belawneh; and the Wadī Râjeb separates the Ghôr el-Belawneh from the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh to the s. of it. The Wâdī Kufrinjeh forms in turn the s. boundary line of the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh. These three sections of the Jordan Valley, listing them from the n. to the s., namely the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh, the Ghôr el-Belawneh, and the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, are separated by the Wâdī Kufrinjeh and the Wâdī Râjeb. The Wâdī Zerqā forms the s. boundary line of the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, with the Ghôr ed-Dâmieh and esh-Shegâg, whose most prominent site was Biblical Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh) (200), soo to the s. of it. These sharply demarcated districts in the Jordan Valley, some of which have just been mentioned, and which were so thickly settled in ancient times, and marked by such outstanding sites as Tell es-Sa'idîveh and Tell el-Qôs, suggest that they are with their present-day names more or less the equivalents of the gelilôth hay-Yarden. 810 Thus it might be said that the areas extending "from Beth-haram to Beth-nimrah" 811 and "from Succoth to Zaphon," 812 (which latter two, for instance, we can definitely equate with "from Tell Deir'alla to Tell el-Qôs"), represented two of the gelilôth hay-Yarden, that is, two clearly demarcated districts of the Jordan Valley.813

The entire hilltop of Tell el-Qôs is oriented roughly n.n.w. by s.s.e., and is separated into two distinctive parts. The fairly flat n. part of the hilltop is oriented e.-w., and measures approximately 55 by 40 m. It is strewn with large quantities of sherds, which include a small number of Late Chalcolithic sherds, very large numbers of EB I-II sherds, with the emphasis on EB II, and some that might go down to EB III, but with a distinct absence apparently of any EB IV sherds; these are followed by a considerable representation of distinctive MB I sherds of all kinds. This site again seems to reveal a deep dip, if perhaps not a complete break, in the history of sedentary settlement as revealed by the diminution or infrequency of surface pottery

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. above, pp. 329-333.

⁸¹⁰ Josh. 22: 10.11; cf. Josh. 18: 17 and Ezek. 47: 8, and in this connection also Isa. 8: 23; cf. Bulletin 90, p. 21.

⁸¹¹ Josh. 13: 27; Num. 32: 36; cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 20.21.

⁸¹² I Kings 7: 46; Josh. 13: 27.

⁸¹³ Similarly, the two clearly demarcated Philistine plains are known as $g^{elil\hat{o}th}$ in the Bible; cf. Josh. 13: 2 and Joel. 4: 4. While it is not possible to assume that the term $g^{elil\hat{o}th}$ refers only to lowland districts,—one must take into consideration the references to the cities of Galîl (Josh. 20: 7; 21: 32; 12: 23; I Kings 9: 11; II Kings 15: 29), it is clear that it refers to sections of the country which form separate districts in themselves; cf. Noth, Das Buch Josua, 1938, p. 14.

finds between the latter part of EB and the beginning of MB, or, to be more specific, between the end of EB III, if not somewhat earlier, and the beginning of MB I,—a severe decline that seems to stretch particularly over the period of EB IV.⁸¹⁴

Beyond the n, part of Tell el-Qôs is a depression or dip in the top of the site, which extends to the base of an elevated bench forming the rest of the s. part of the hilltop. This higher platform or bench, oriented n.-s., is about 75 m. long, and narrows from about 40 m. wide at its n. end to about 20 m. wide at its s. end. It slopes down slightly from the n, to the s. At the higher n. end of this bench are the foundation ruins of some large structures, which seem to be contained within an area measuring 45 by 15 m. Separate room divisions can be distinguished inside of it. There are additional building remains visible beyond it to the s. There is also some evidence of a wall or of walls along the outer edge of this s. platform, indicating that perhaps the entire s. platform at least was once surrounded by a wall. This s. part of the hilltop of Tell el-Qôs commands directly the small plain on either side of the Wâdī Râjeb. This plain, which, as we have seen, merges on the w. side with the Jordan Valley, extends like a narrowing curved horn e. n. e., until the rising hills to the e. halt its advance, and leave room only for the sides of the Wadī Rajeb, which become steep beyond this point.

Practically all of the sherds found on the s. part of the hilltop of Tell el-Qôs belong to Iron Age I-II, with some belonging to LB II, and with some going back to EB I-II and to MB I, aside from a small quantity of Roman-Byzantine sherds. In general the periods of occupation of this site were then as follows:

1) Late Chalcolithic; 2) EB I-II; 3) MB I; 4) LB II-Iron Age I-II;

5) Roman-Byzantine. The EB II settlement seems to have been particularly well developed on this site, to judge from the apparent preponderance among the EB sherds of those of the EB II period. One is struck by the general similarity of the history of settlement of this site to that of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh to the n. w. of it overlooking the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. We shall wait with the Biblical identification of these two outstanding sites, until we have treated Tell Deir'allā (184) and Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), which too are to be identified with Biblical sites, and discuss them all together (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 477-480).

Tell 'Ammata (176)

Less than half a km. to the s. s. w. of Tell el-Qôs (175), below it, and still on the n. side of the Wâdī Râjeb, which it directly overlooks, is Tell 'Ammatā (176),⁸¹⁵ which is, of course, visible from the s. edge of Tell el-Qôs, as is the

⁸¹⁴ Cf. above, p. 278, n. 774; p. 296; Bulletin 90, p. 22.

⁸¹⁵ ZDPV 48, 1925, pp. A. 343-344.

striking mound of Tell el-Mazâr (178), less than 3 km. to the s. w. of Tell el-Qôs (Fig. 97). The waters of the Wâdī Râjeb flow by the s. side of Tell 'Ammatā. Tell 'Ammatā is situated on a natural, tell-like knoll, whose fairly flat top measures about 40 m. in diameter. Side There are numerous stone foundations flush with the surface on the top and slopes of the site. Numerous sherds

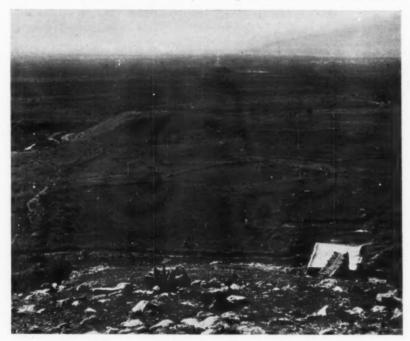


Fig. 97. Looking s. s. w. at Tell 'Ammatā (176) and Tell el-Mazâr (178) beyond it from Tell el-Qôs (175).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

were found on the top and slopes and round about Tell 'Ammatā, all of them being Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic, with nothing earlier. Excavations might possibly reveal earlier wares, but the report by Thiersch and Hoelscher to the effect that sherds they found on the surface at Tell el-'Ammatā are "of Cypriote import of pre-Greek period," must be completely discounted.

⁸¹⁶ Cf. RB VIII, 1911, p. 413, and Pl. II: 1; Bulletin 90, p. 23; 92, pp. 26-27.

⁸¹⁷ Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 23, p. 33; cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 44, n. 34.

Tell el-Mazâr (178)

Less than 2 km. s. w. of Tell 'Ammata (176), in the center of the Jordan Valley, is the high, very prominent mound of Tell el-Mazar (178) 818 (Fig. 100, 101). It is about 1,25 km, w. s. w.-s. w. of the small, modern village of Mazâr Abū 'Obeideh and about 2 km. w.n.w.-n.w. of the modern village of Darâr.-both of which villages on the e, side of the Ghôr mark the converging of the widening Jordan Valley with the valley of the expanding Ghôr of the Wâdī Zerqā. It commands a view to the even larger and more prominent mound of Tell Deir'alla, located about 3.25 km, to the s. s. e.-s. e. of it. Indeed, there is a splendid view from Tell el-Mazâr over the Ghôr in all directions. A pathway leads up the n.e. side of Tell el-Mazâr to its top, which is about 30 m. in diameter, and is bare of all building remains (Fig. 98.99). From the air, however, the outlines of a fortification wall encompassing the circumference of the top of the site seem to be visible. The pathway up the n.e. side may well follow the road which led to the top of the site and the fortress gateway of the probably originally walled hilltop site. On the top and slopes and around the base of Tell el-Mazâr are very large quantities of LB II, Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds, with a seeming predominance of Iron Age II sherds. There were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds. With the exception of Tell Deir'alla, no other site in the Jordan Valley that we examined produced more or larger pieces of Iron Age pottery than Tell el-Mazâr. Immediately below the w. side of Tell el-Mazâr is a small, low rise or knoll which is covered with the same sherds as the larger tell, of which it must be considered an integral part.

The Biblical name of this site, or rather the name by which it was known in Biblical times escapes us. Its name must have been well known to many if not all of the same people who, for instance, knew the name and the location of Biblical Succoth, which, as we shall see, is to be identified with the nearby Tell Deir'allā. Nevertheless, the site of Tell el-Mazâr has apparently not been mentioned in the pages of the Bible. Situated almost in the center of the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, the site of Tell el-Mazâr did not mark the beginning or the end of a natural land-division, such as we have just mentioned above, s19 and which might have resulted in its being referred to in the pages of the Bible, as were Succoth and Zaphon, s20 whose identifications with antiquity sites we shall discuss in detail below. S21 Furthermore, apparently, the site of

⁸¹⁸ Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 344; RJ, p. 148, Fig. 76.

⁵¹⁹ Cf. above, p. 299.

⁸²⁰ Cf. I Kings 7: 46; Josh. 13: 27.

⁸²¹ Cf. below, pp. 334-355; Bulletin 90, pp. 14-23.

Tell el-Mazâr, by whatever name it may have been known in Biblical times, was not the scene of the kind of historical happening, which the Biblical writers cared to weave into their historico-theological presentation, as in the case of Jabesh-gilead, which we have identified with Tell el-Meqbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz.⁸²² Not being mentioned in the Bible, we have no present clue,



Fig. 98. Looking s. w.-s. s. w. at Tell el-Mazâr (178).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

aside from the remote possibility of finding an answer in excavations, as to what its ancient name may have been. Nor has its Arabicized name been retained in the memory and speech of the modern inhabitants of the Jordan Valley, as, for example, in the case of Beth-shân and Beth-yeshīmôth, which are still known today as Beisân and Suweimeh.⁸²³

Tell el-Ghazalā (177)

A few hundred m. to the n.e. of Tell el-Mazar (178) is Tell el-Ghazala (177), consisting of a low, partly cultivated rise which is dwarfed by the

⁸²² Cf. above, pp. 261-275.

⁸²⁸ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 14-15. 23-24.

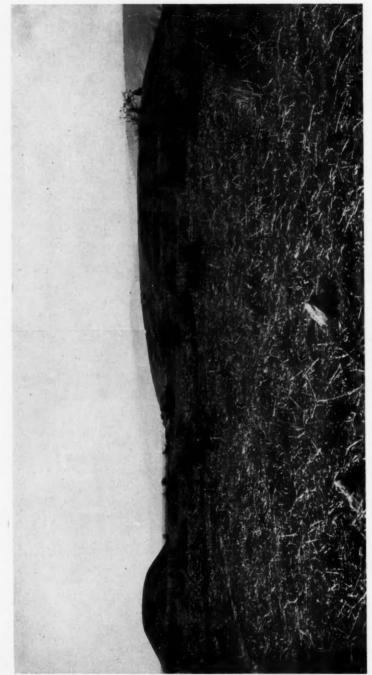


Fig. 99. Looking s. w. at Tell el-Mazâr (178), with path up its n. e. side, annd low mound of Tell el-Ghazalā (177) in foreground.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

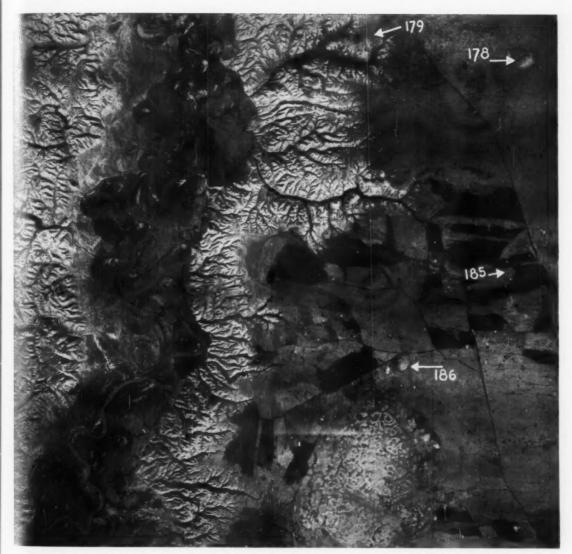


Fig. 100. Sites visible from the top down, at right of Jordan River, are: Tell en-Nekheil (179), Tell el-Mazâr (178), Tell Abū Şarbûţ (185), and Tell el-Ekhṣūṣ (186) above a large, salt-encrusted depression.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).



Fig. 101. Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok) in lower right corner. The large mound of Tell Deir'allā (Succoth) (184) is visible n. of it near center of photograph. Other sites clearly visible are: Tell el-Mazâr (178); Tell 'Adlîyeh (182); Tell Qa'adân (183); Tell Abū Şarbûţ (185); Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ (186); Tell el-Fukhâr (188).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

nearby, comparatively towering height of Tell el-Mazâr. It is such a gentle, low rise, as to be hardly noticeable at all from the air (cf. Fig. 96), but from the ground can be immediately distinguished as an antiquity site. Numerous sherds were found on it, which were of the same types as those found on Tell el-Mazâr, extending from LB II to Iron Age II, and including likewise some Roman and Byzantine sherds. Tell el-Ghazalā can indeed be accounted as a suburb of Tell el-Mazâr (Fig. 99). The top of Tell el-Ghazalā is about 30 m. in diameter, with the remains of some building foundations visible on it (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 467-468).

Tell en-Nekheil (179)

About 1.5 km. w.-w. n. w. of Tell el-Mazâr (178) is Tell en-Nekheil (179), on the n. side of the small Wâdi en-Nekheil. It is situated on an extensive, low rise, at the w. end of the Ghôr, with the Wâdī en-Nekheil cutting down through the qaṭṭârah-hills to the Zôr of the Jordan. Below the w. side of Tell en-Nekheil rises the excellent spring of 'Ain en-Nekheil, whose waters irrigate a cultivated pocket of a widened section of the Wâdī en-Nekheil, completely surrounded by the beginnings of the qaṭṭârah-hills (Fig. 100). This cultivated depression extends immediately s. and w. below Tell en-Nekheil. Tell el-Qôs (175) and Tell Deir allā (184) and Tell en-Nuqrah (166 c) are visible from this site, among other places which can be seen from it. On top of the extensive low mound are the foundation ruins of a building about 30 m. square, and oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e., which are flush with the ground (Fig. 100).

This extensive mound of Tell en-Nekheil was littered with large masses of sherds, most of which were MBI of all kinds. These MBI sherds were, generally speaking, of the hard-baked, well levigated wares so characteristic of the period. In addition, there were some clear MBII, and a small quantity of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The MBI sherds are indistinguishable from those of Zaharet Umm el-Merâr (164),⁸²⁴ for instance, or from those of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199 a),⁸²⁵ and represent yet another example of an MBI site established on virgin soil ⁸²⁶ (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 480-482) (Fig. 100).

Tell 'Adlîyeh (182)

Less than 1.5 km, s. e.-s. s. e. of Tell el-Mazâr (178) is Tell 'Adlîyeh (182). 827 The modern, tiny Arabic village of Parâr is less than half a km, to the s. e.

⁸²⁴ Cf. above, pp. 276-278.

⁸²⁵ Cf. Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16.

⁸²⁶ Cf. above, p. 278, n. 774; pp. 296.300; Bulletin 90, p. 22.

⁸²⁷ Dec. 18, 1942.

of it, at the bottom of the slope of one of the rising foothills on the e. side of the Jordan Valley. Tell 'Adlîveh is contained within the cultivated area irrigated by waters diverted from the Wadī Zerqā, and from the air is seen as one of the grayish-white dots, representing antiquity sites, which cluster around the great central site of Tell Deir'alla (184). All of these sites, and others vet to be dealt with, located between the Wadī Rajeb and the line of the Wadī Zerqā flowing s. w. to its junction with the Jordan, give eloquent testimony to the thickness of settlement of the Jordan Valley in general and of this section of it in particular in ancient times. The modern Arabic settlements in the Jordan Valley can compare neither in number nor in size with the ancient ones, although neither the fertility nor the climate have changed in historical times. Tell 'Adlîveh (Fig. 101) is located on a small knoll, between several irrigation canals, which reach almost all the way to Tell el-Mazâr (178) and Tell Ghazalā (177). There are some remains of building foundations visible on it. A small number of Iron Age I-II sherds, as well as numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were discovered there.

Tell Deir'allā (184)

Somewhat less than 2 km, s. of Tell 'Adlîyeh (182), and about 3.3 km. s. e.-s. s. e. of Tell el-Mazâr (178), is the imposing and wonderfully located site of Tell Deir'alla (184).828 It is to be identified with the Biblical Succoth, as will be discussed later. 820 It is about 1.5 km. w.-w. n. w. of the e. side of the bulge of the Wâdī Zerqā as it emerges from its e. hills and makes a turn towards the n., before bending backward and then southwestward towards its junction with the Jordan. It is one of the most prominent tells in the entire Jordan Valley, and only Tell el-Husn (Beth-shân) and Tell es-Sultân (Jericho) can compare favorably in importance and position with it. It is visible for many km. round about, completely dominating one of the richest, widest, and best watered expanses of the entire Jordan Valley, namely the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, located between the Wâdī Râjeb and the Wâdī Zergā. A whole series of irrigation ditches and water channels bring water from the perennial stream of the Wâdī Zerqā to a broad expanse of fields and satellite or suburban tells connected with Tell Deir'alla, in the area of the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh. 'The areas most intensively cultivated at the time of our last visit to the site 830 were to the w. and n. and e. of Tell Deir'alla. The lands extending for some distance to the s. and s. w. of it, however, in the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh are no less rich agriculturally than these other parts. To the e. of it,

⁸²⁸ Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 345; Bulletin 90, pp. 14-18; Dalman, PJB 1913, p. 72.

⁸²⁹ Cf. below, pp. 336-350.

⁸³⁰ Dec. 18, 1942.

however, there is only a small, fertile plain, which soon runs into the broken qattarah hills overlooking the w. side of the rich little Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā, whose lands, in turn, are irrigated and cultivated wherever possible. After leaving its canyon in the e. hills, the Wâdī Zerqā wanders sedately in its own little Zôr, which cuts through its own valley or Ghôr till it reaches the Jordan. It is the union of the Zerqā valley or Ghôr with the Jordan valley that makes for one of the broadest, cultivated areas in the entire Jordan valley. The strategically located Tell Deir'allā, guarding the approaches to and from the Wâdī Zerqā, and benefiting naturally from the general agricultural and economic advantages of the rich country-side around Tell Deir'allā, was bound to become the seat of rich settlements that throve on agriculture and trade, and to a degree, as we shall see, also on industry.⁸³¹

Tell Deir'alla is a high mound, with some traces of foundation remains visible on its top. There are no present indications of an outer fortification wall. Steuernagel, following Schumacher, says that it is 15 m. above the surrounding plain.832 We estimate that it is at least 20 m. high.823 The top of the mound, which slopes slightly from e. to w. in the form of two more or less distinct stages or levels, is oriented roughly e.-w.,834 and measures approximately 110 by 40 m. The top, and particularly the slopes of the high mound, of which the e, is the steepest, are littered with great masses of pottery fragments, large and small. On no site in the Jordan Valley, has the writer seen a greater abundance of surface sherds, with the exceptions of Tell el-Mazâr (178) to the n. w.-n. n. w. of it and Tell Umm Hamad (199) to the s. w. of it, than on Tell Deir'alla. We found there very large numbers of plain and painted and burnished Iron Age I-II sherds, in addition to numerous LB II plain and painted pieces of pottery, and a small quantity of MB II sherds, including some painted pieces, which can be assigned to MB IIA. The latter are characteristic of strata G-F at Tell Beit Mirsim, which Albright dates circa 1900-1750 B. C. 835 There does not seem to be anything at all earlier than MB IIA, although pottery evidence of earlier occupation might be unearthed if excavations were to be undertaken on this mound. Earlier pottery was found, however, on the site of Tell el-Qa'adân (183) 836 close by, which may be the answer to the question as to whether or not there were earlier settlements on 'Tell Deir'alla. Immediately below the base of Tell Deir'alla, to the

⁸³¹ Bulletin 90, pp. 13-14.

⁹³² ZDPV 48, p. A. 435.

^{*33} Merrill, East of the Jordan, p. 388.

⁸³⁴ Merrill, p. 388.

^{***} TBM IA, p. 7, pl. 22:1-10.29; II, pp. 24-25; Glueck, Annual XVIII-XIX, pp. 262-263.

⁸³⁶ Bulletin 90, p. 17.

n. e., are two large areas strewn with Byzantine, mediaeval, and modern Arabic sherds. There are some modern houses below it to the s. w. (cf *Pottery Notes*, pp. 454-458) (Fig. 101).

A small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found on Tell Deir'allā. They represent, however, no important occupation of the site during those periods. In the early part of the 6th century B. C., a blight of conquest and cumulative exhaustion hit the cities and villages of the Jordan Valley and Transjordan, resulting in the destruction of sedentary civilization and the disappearance of inhabited settlements. The nomads became masters of the land, tenting frequently, as had their early predecessors in similar previous periods of decline and destruction of agricultural civilization, on the ruins of what had once been thriving walled and unwalled cities. Sar Sedentary civilization marked by the cultivation of the soil, the building of houses, and the making of pottery, among other things, did not widely recover in either the hill country of Transjordan or the Jordan Valley till roughly the first century B. C., although some Hellenistic sites were established earlier.

Tell Qa'adân (183)

About half a km, n, e, of Tell Deir'alla is Tell Qa'adan (183), 839 n, of the tiny Wâdī el-Khôr and s. of the Qanât Deir'alla, which parallels the Wâdī el-Khôr. There are several of these irrigation ditches, bringing water from the Wâdī Zerqā, which are known, respectively, as Qanât Deir'allā. One of them is immediately below the n. side of the high mound of Tell Deir'alla. A short distance to the n. of it is the Wâdi el-Khôr, and a short distance to the n. of the Wâdī el-Khôr is another Qanât Deir'allā. The small, low mound of Tell Qa'adân stands between the latter two. It measures about 40 m. in diameter, and is located between the irrigated fields dominated by Tell Deir'alla. It must be accounted as one of the satellite towns or suburbs of Tell Deir'alla. On the n. e. side of the low mound, which at its highest point is about 4 m. above the surrounding fields, are the remains of the foundation walls of a building about 10 m. square, with walls about 1. m. thick. Some foundation remains, flush with the surface, are visible also on the top of the mound. There is no way of dating any of these foundation remains from surface indications. The cultivated fields extend up to the very edges of the site, and it is reasonable to assume that originally it was much more extensive than it is today. This is another of the numerous artificial mounds in the Jordan Valley, which can be distinguished from natural ones only through

⁸²⁷ OSJ, pp. 6-7.

⁸²⁸ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 269; AP, pp. 44. 149-154. 168; cf. above, pp. 321-322.

⁸³⁹ Bulletin 90, p. 17.

the distinctive grayish-white color of their soil and the fragments of pottery on them. It almost becomes possible for the competent observer to pick them out from a low flying plane, particularly if he has first familiarized himself well with the terrain on foot (Fig. 101).

Large numbers of sherds were found on Tell Qa'adân, most of which were Iron Age I-II, with some belonging to LB II. In addition, a small quantity of sherds was found, most of which could be assigned to the Middle (?) Chalcolithic period. Excavations would undoubtedly reveal more of them and others of the Chalcolithic period in general, and possibly of the EB period, although with one possible exception, none of the latter was discovered, despite my first impression. Some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were also found. Our feeling is that this early Chalcolithic settlement may definitely be associated with Tell Deir'allā, whose lands must certainly have been cultivated by the fellāḥîn, farmers, of the Chalcolithic period. Indeed, we would doubt very much if extensive excavations in the area round about Tell Deir'allā were not to reveal settlements from the Chalcolithic period on, corresponding in time with most of those of Jericho and Beth-shân sai (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 497).

Tell Abū Şarbûţ (185)

In the midst of the fertile plain dominated by Tell Deir'allā (184), 1.7 km. removed from it to the w.n.w.-n.w., on the s. side of the small Wâdī el-Khôr, is Tell Abū Ṣarbûṭ (195). 842 It is a large, low rise, with traces of building foundations on its top and sides. The lands round about it, are like those of the rest of this area, under irrigation from waters drawn from the Wâdī Zerqā and some springs. On the e. side of this site are a small fig and pomegranate orchard and a small vineyard. Numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found on this mound (Fig. 101).

Tell el-Ekhşâş (Khaşâs) (186)

About 2.6 km. w. s. w. of Tell Deir'allā (184) and 1.5 km. s. w. of Tell Abū Ṣarbûṭ (185) is Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ (Khaṣâṣ) (186). ** It is a striking, medium sized, fairly high mound, which, like Tell Abū Ṣarbûṭ, is in the midst of an intensively cultivated area, irrigated by waters drawn off from the Wâdī Zerqā. It is situated in the center of the w. side of the Ghôr, but is still within the orbit of the much higher and larger Tell Deir'allā. From the comparatively

⁸⁴⁰ Bulletin 90, p. 17.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. Albright, Bulletin 90, p. 17, n. 77 a.

⁸⁴² Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 346.

⁸⁴³ Bulletin 90, p. 16; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 346.

flat top of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, which measures about 35 m. in diameter, one obtains a good view of the surrounding countryside. A large, shallow depression, forming an uncultivable salt pan, and covering an area of about 2 square km., is situated less than a km. to the s. of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ. In addition to numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds, large numbers of Iron Age I-II and some LB II sherds were found. At the time of our visit, standard numerous Arab tents were pitched by Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ (cf. Fig. 96). In ancient times, a large part of the sedentary population of the Jordan Valley must also have resided in tents, but they were attached to permanent sedentary settlements in built-up villages and towns. The remains of houses and tools and pottery of such villages and towns are contained in numerous tulûl, of which Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ is only one example (Fig. 100).

Tell Abū Nejrah (187)

A little over 2 km. n. w.-w. n. w. of Tell el-Ekhşâş (186) and a little less than 3 km. w.-w. n. w. of Tell Abū Ṣarbûṭ (185) is the very low rise of Tell Abū Nejrah (187).⁸⁴⁵ It is at the very w. edge of the Ghôr overlooking the beginnings of the broken qaṭṭârah-hills, which mark the abrupt descent from the Ghôr to the Zôr of the Jordan. In the Wâdī el-Kâfar, which cuts down through the qaṭṭârah-hills to the n. below this site, is the small spring of 'Ain el-Kâfar. Numerous plain, painted, and burnished sherds were found, some of them belonging to LB II and most of them to Iron Age I-II. There were no building remains whatsoever visible on the site.

Tell el-Fukhâr (188)

A km. to the s. w. of Tell Deir'allā (184) is Tell el-Fukhâr (188). It is a very low mound, measuring about 40 m. in diameter, with some building remains visible on top of it. It is covered with large quantities of sherds, most of which are Byzantine, and the rest mediaeval Arabic (Fig. 101).

Khirbet Dhabâb (189)

On a large, low, flattish-topped rise, sloping upward slightly from w. to e., about three quarters of a km. to the e.s.e.-e. of Tell Deir'allā is Khirbet Dhabâb (189). The extensive area of this rise is thickly littered with Byzantine sherds, and gives the impression of being the site of a very large Byzantine necropolis. At the e. and s. ends of this site, there commences a series of qaṭṭārah-hills descending to the Zôr of the Zerqā which are lower in height and smaller in size than those which separate the Ghôr from the Zôr of the Jordan.

⁵⁴⁴ Dec. 18, 1942.

⁸⁴⁵ Dec. 19, 1942.

Tell el-Hammeh (190)

About 2.5 km, e. s. e. of Tell Deir'alla is Tell el-Hammeh (190). 846 situated on a small hill, overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī Zerqā. On its s. side, the hill descends in three fairly steep benches to the wadi below. A comparatively gradual but noticeable slope leads up towards the hill from the w., and ends in a small plain in front of it, which extends also to the n.w. A short distance beyond the n. e. to n. sides of the site, the hills begin to close in to form the steep and high walls of the Wadī Zerqā, which constrain its course through the e, hills of Gilead, A very small plain on the e, side of the site separates it from the hills to the e, of it. Tell el-Hammeh occupies a strategic position overlooking the point where the perennial stream of the Wâdī Zerqā escapes from its bed in the canyon to the e, and begins to flow w, through a widening Zôr, contained in a Ghôr or Valley, which merges with the Valley of the Jordan to form one of the widest and most fertile expanses of the entire Jordan Valley. A little less than 4 km. to the e. s. e. of Tell el-Hammeh, are the Tulûl edh-Dhahab, commanding a deep bend of the Wâdī Zerqā. The site of Biblical Penuel is to be located at Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqī.847

On the very top of the natural, rocky knoll of Tell el-Hammeh are the ruins of a tower, which once may have been about 10 m. square.848 House and wall foundations are visible on all sides of the site. On a fairly level bench, immediately below its n. side, we found large numbers of sherds, which, however, were present in lesser quantities also on the top and slopes of the site. There were very many Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds, as well as a considerable number of Roman-Byzantine sherds, and some mediaeval Arabic ones. Tell el-Hammeh, to judge from the surface pottery finds, was especially important in Iron Age I-II. The track from Tell Deir'alla to Tell el-Hammeh does not cross the Wâdī Zerqā, but leads almost straight e. s. e. above its n. side. Tell el-Hammeh may be regarded also as a large police post guarding the route leading eastward from Tell Deir'alla (Succoth) 849 to Penuel and Mahanaim, s50 overlooking the n. side of the River Jabbok (Wâdī Zerqā). About a quarter of a km, to the e, of Tell el-Hammeh, in the very bed of the Wâdī Zerqā, are some hot springs, from which the name of Tell el-Hammeh is probably derived.851

⁸⁴⁶ Cf. PJB 1913, p. 72; ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 346.

⁸⁴⁷ Cf. ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 232-235.

 ⁶⁴⁸ Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 346; PJB 1913, p. 72.
 ⁶⁴⁰ Cf. below, pp. 334-350; Bulletin 90, pp. 14-17.

⁸⁵⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 234. 250-251; RJ, pp. 95. 96. 101.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. Dalman, PJB 1913, p. 72.

Tell el-Meidân (191)

About 2.4 km. s.-s. s. w. of Tell Deir'allā (184) is Tell el-Meidân (191), which is also known as Tell Sha'abeh. It is on a pronounced knoll, almost directly overlooking a bend of the Wâdī Zerqā below it to the e. Λ tiny plain is interposed between the e. side of its base and the top of the line of comparatively small qaṭṭârah-hills, which lead down to the cultivated and irrigated Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā. The e. side of this knoll is the highest and steepest, with the w. side being comparatively low. There are some recent building ruins on the top of Tell el-Meidân. Numerous sherds were found on the top and slopes of the mound, among which were many Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Λrabic ones. Λ considerable number of the sherds, however, belonged to much earlier periods, including the Late (?) Chalcolithic, EB I-II, MB II-LB II, Iron Age I-II. No MB I sherds whatsoever were discovered (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 475).

Tell Rikâbī (192)

About a km. to the w.s.w.-s.w. of Tell el-Meidân (191) is Tell Rikâbī (192), which is also known as Tell Maqâsim. It is a small, insignificant-looking mound, overlooking the w. side of the Wâdī Zerqā. Like Tell el-Meidân, it is on the e. side of a long irrigation ditch, which taps the waters of the Wâdī Zerqā, leading the water along the edge of the valley above, by following the contour of the land overlooking the Wâdī Zerqā. The tiny village of Ma'adī is visible to the s. e. on the e. side of the Wâdī Zerqā. There are several modern buildings on top of the small site. Numerous sherds were found, including Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic, and some pieces that went back much earlier. Among the latter were half of a plain, semi-elliptical EBI ledge-handle, several flat-bases of coarse pots or jars which seemed to belong to the early part of EB, and some Iron Age I-II pieces. It is likely that excavations would reveal the close relationship of the history of early settlement on this site to that of the nearby Tell el-Meidân (191) (Fig. 102).

Tell 'Asiyeh (193)

About half a km. to the s. w. of Tell Rikâbī (192) is Tell 'Âsiyeh (193), overlooking the Wâdī Zerqā, and a small, cultivated pocket of land on the w. side of the Zôr below it. It consists of a small knoll, with no building remains visible on it. The modern dirt road is cut through its e. side. Considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds were found on and around it, in addition to some Roman-Byzantine sherds (Fig. 102).

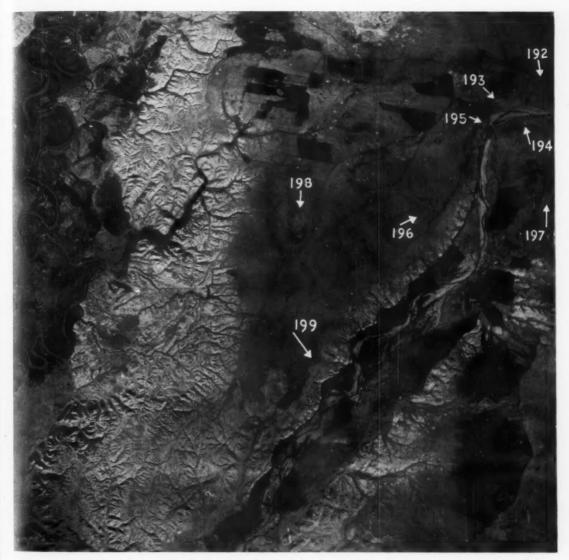


Fig. 102. Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok) on right bends s.w. to join River Jordan on left. The following sites are visible: Tell Rikâbī (192); Tell 'Āsiyeh (193); Khirbet Maqal er-Remeileh (194); Tell en-Ne'eimeh (195); Tell Zakarī (196); Tell ed-Dōlânī (197); Tell Munţâḥ (198); Tell Umm Ḥamâd (199).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

Khirbet Maqâl er-Remeileh (194)

Almost opposite Tell 'Asiyeh, to the e.s.e. of it, is Khirbet Maqâl er-Remeileh (194), consisting of a small knoll in the Zôr on the e. side of the Wâdī Zerqā, not more than a 100 m. from the wâdī-bed. A modern house covers almost half of the very top of the knoll. Numerous Iron Age I-II sherds of all kinds were found on its top and slopes and round about it. Beyond it, to the e.-e. s. e., about three quarters of a km. away, is the modern village of Ma'adī, on the very edge of the Ghôr overlooking the Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā. There seems to be an antiquity site immediately w. and below this village, but circumstances prevented us from examining it at the time. The area between Khirbet Maqâl er-Remeileh and a line below the village of Ma'adī represents one of the widest and most intensively cultivated sections of the entire Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā (Fig. 102).

Tell en-Ne'eimeh (195)

About half a km. to the s.s.w. of Tell 'Âsiyeh (193) is Tell en-Ne'eimeh (195), also known as Tell Shehawân. It is an extensive, low rise on the w. side of the Wâdī Zerqā, at the e. edge of the plain, before the descent down to the Wâdī Zerqā. There were several modern houses on the top of the site Large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, mediaeval and modern Arabic pottery were found on it.

Tell Zakarī (196)

About a km. to the s. s. e.-s. e. of Tell en-Ne'eimeh (195) is Tell Zakarī (196), on a fairly high rise, on the e. edge of the plain, immediately overlooking, below its steep e. side, the descent to the Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā. The great landmark of Qarn Ṣarṭabeh (253b) s52 is clearly visible from it to s. w. overlooking from the w. the Jordan Valley. There were large quantities of Iron Age I-II sherds on this site, with a predominance of Iron Age II over Iron Age I. This seems to be a fact with regard to all of these sites in the neighborhood of Tell Deir'allā, including also Tell Deir'allā. There was also a small number of mediaeval Arabic sherds (Fig. 102).

Tell Dölâni (197)

On the e. side of the Wâdī Zerqā, about a km. to the e.-e. n. e. of Tell Zakarī (196), is the large site of Tell Dōlânī (197). ⁸⁵⁸ It is situated on a long, isolated hill, oriented n. e.-n. n. e. by s. w.-s. s. w., and rises about 25 m. above the irrigated plain between it and the Wâdī Zerqā. To the e. of it, extending

⁸⁵² Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 9.

⁸⁵³ Dec. 20, 1942.

almost to the eastern foothills, is also a well cultivated plain, likewise irrigated by waters diverted from the Wâdī Zerqā. The land begins to rise gently beyond the e. side of Tell Dōlânī towards the foothills on the e. side of the Wâdī Zerqā valley. The w. side of Tell Dōlânī is the steepest one. The descent down to the Wâdī Zerqā from the w. side of the wâdī is marked by qaṭṭârah-hills, which do not appear on the e. side of the wâdī, there being a gradual, rising of the land from above the somewhat steep bank of the Wâdī Zerqā to the e. foothills. Tell Dōlânī is approximately in the center of this sector. The remains of some building foundations are visible on the top of this elongated, wedge-shaped hill, which tapers off to a point at its s. w. end. There were numerous Roman, Byzantine, and large quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds of all kinds, in addition to some comparatively modern Arabic sherds. There seemed to be nothing earlier than the Roman period (Fig. 102).

Tell el-Muntâh (198)

About 1.5 km. to the w.-w. s. w. of Tell Zakarī (196) is Tell el-Munţâḥ (198), 554 situated prominently near the w. center of this part of the Jordan Valley Ghôr, which has begun to narrow considerably as the Wâdī Zerqā bends diagonally s. w. towards its junction with the Jordan. Tell el-Munţâḥ is about 2 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of the large salt pan which stretches between it and Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ (186), about half a km. n. of the salt-pan. It is an extensive, low mound, located in the midst of cultivated and partly irrigated fields. No ruins whatsoever are visible on it, and it is marked only by some modern graves. We found large numbers of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds on and around Tell el-Munţâḥ, with most of them belonging to the Byzantine period. We did not find a single sherd which could be assigned to any period earlier than Roman.

We have referred above to the confusion which has been created by statements that Chalcolithic gray-burnished ware was discovered by Père Mallon at Tell el-Ḥandaqûq and Tell el-Munţâḥ, both of which were supposed to be located on the Wâdī Zerqā. So Concerning his finds on Tell el-Munţâḥ, which we are inclined to believe despite his locating it on the Wâdī Zerqā is the same as the Tell el-Munţâh (198) we are dealing with here, Père Mallon wrote:

"A Tell Munteh au Zerqa, la culture 'hyksos,' avec ses produits céramiques carénés, succède a la civilisation mégalithique, et la date concorde avec la chronologie générale."

There is a possibility that we may have completely missed finding any of the

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. ZDPV 48, 1925, p. A. 437; above, p. 287.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. above, pp. 287-288.

⁸⁵⁶ TG I, p. 160.

"Hyksos" pottery that Mallon refers to. It may also be that Père Mallon may have been mistaken with regard to some of the sherds he examined, at a time when the study of pottery had not advanced anywhere near as far as it has progressed today. It may also be that we are speaking of two different sites, although we consider that to be unlikely (Fig. 102).

Tell Umm Hamâd (199)

About 1.4 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Tell el-Munţâh (198) is the very large double site of Tell Umm Hamâd (199) 857 (Fig. 102), the two parts of which we are arbitrarily naming Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī (199a) and Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī (199b). Tell Umm Ḥamâd, in extent, represents one of the largest, if not by far the largest site in the entire Jordan Valley. Its two parts cover an area well over a km, long and fully half a km. wide. It is situated near the s. e. end of the rich farm lands of the Ghôr, which, at the s. part of the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, extends like an elongated peninsula between the converging Jordan and Wâdī Zerqā (Fig. 102). Immediately below its e. side, there is an abrupt descent through broken qattarah (marl) hills down to the cultivated Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā, which continues its journey southwestward to join the Jordan at a point above Tell ed-Dâmieh (200).858 Less than 2 km. to the s. of it, the last vestige of the cultivable land of the Ghôr disappears. giving way to a wilderness of qattarah-hills, sloping down sharply till they reach the wide and green and irrigated expanse formed by the union of the Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā with the Zôr of the Jordan. This wilderness of marl hills below the tip of the tongue of the Ghôr is formed by the joining together of the qattarahs on the w. side of the Wadī Zerqā with the qattarahs on the e. side of the Jordan (Figs. 102. 104). From the air, one can see a patch of these qattarah-hills extending northward into the tip of the Ghor, giving the end of the Ghôr the appearance of the openmouthed head of a dragon. To the n. e.-e. n. e. of this grim advance guard of the phalanx of descending qattarahhills, commence the fertile lands of Tell Umm Ḥamâd. The modern track which skirts the e. edge of the Ghôr, overlooking the Wâdī Zerqā, passes through the area of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199b) before descending s. e. into the Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā and thence to the merged Zôr of the Jordan and the Wadī Zergā and to the site of Tell ed-Damieh.

While Tell Umm Ḥamâd covers a large area, the very slight rises of each of the parts of this double site are hardly distinguishable from their surroundings. Only the trained eye can discern that the color of the soil of the

858 Bulletin 90, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁵⁷ Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 18-19; 97, pp. 10-22; 100, pp. 7-16.

central part of each of the very low rises is somewhat lighter and grayer than the color of the soil beyond them. The difficulty of recognizing Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī and Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī as antiquity sites is heightened by the fact that most of their lands are subject to intensive cultivation, as they have been for ages. Flying over the site of Tell Umm Hamâd on January 27, 1945, I could see its outlines much more clearly from the air than previously from the ground. No surface ruins whatsoever are left of the ancient mud-brick houses and mud-brick walls which may have enclosed each of the two parts of Tell Umm Hamâd. There are a few crude building stones of indeterminate period on top of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī. Only a great wealth of sherds remains on each part to testify to the presence there once of flourishing settlements and civilizations. The two parts of Tell Umm Hamâd are less than a quarter of a km. removed from each other, being separated by a very slight dip in the land, but they are, as we shall see shortly, almost a thousand years apart from each other in time. Coming upon Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī from the n., as we did, we might well not have recognized it at all as a site of early historical settlement, were it not for the great masses of sherds strewn about on it. We were not looking for such a site particularly, because we did not expect to find an ancient settlement so near the southeasternmost corner of the Ghôr. It was only when looking at Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī from the w., from the top of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī, which is distinguished by a more noticeable elevation, that one can make out the existence of the low rise, which marks the center of Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī. There are some modern burials on the n. e. side of Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī.

Most of the very large quantities of pottery fragments found all over the site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199b) belong to the Late Chalcolithic period, between approximately 3400-3200 B.C. ^{85p} They indicate the existence of a very important community there during that period, which had developed an exceedingly distinctive type of pottery. This striking pottery presupposes age-old skills, a somewhat complex economy, and a generally dynamic civilization.

The wealth and general importance of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, as indicated by its size, and the intensive irrigation agriculture which obviously supported its economy, and by the excellent pottery which it mass-produced, would alone be sufficient evidence of the fact that Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī must have been part of a widespread and flourishing Late Chalcolithic

⁸⁵⁰ Wright PPEB, Table of Related Deposits I; Albright, AJA LIII: 2, 1949, p. 214, dates the Esdraelon phase of the first, Late Chalcolithic part of Megiddo XIX to circa 3300-3100 B. c., the second part of Megiddo XIX to EBI, and Megiddo XVIII to EBII (cir. 2900-2600 B. c.).

civilization. As a result of the archaeological explorations of the east side as well as parts of the w. side of the Jordan Valley by the joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 860 in addition to discoveries by others, 861 it is now possible to demonstrate that the Chalcolithic civilization in the Jordan Valley, hitherto represented by finds at el-'Azeimeh and Tell Ghanâm, and by excavations at Teleilât el-Ghassûl, Jericho and Beth-shân, was wide spread, well established, prosperous, and of considerable duration. The further presence of Chalcolithic civilization in its various phases in the lowlands and hill country beyond the confines of the Jordan Valley is indicated by finds previously made at Khudeirah, 'Affûleh, Megiddo, Gezer, Bnei Brag, Mughâret el-Wâd, Mughâret Abū Usba', Wâdī Ghazzeh, the cave in Wâdī Salhah in Galilee, and the caves of Umm el-Qal'ah and Umm el-Qatafah in Judah.862 Its traces have been best preserved in lowland regions, but evidence is mounting that it was extensive in the highlands also, as proven by the excavations of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, under Père R. de Vaux at Tell el-Far'ah, 863 and by our discoveries at Tell Misqa (254 a) overlooking the Wâdī el-Far'ah 864 and at various sites in the hill country of Transjordan. 865

Most of the sherds from Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī belong to large, coarse, flat-bottomed jars with ledge-handles. The handmade pottery is generally brownish-red in color, has numerous grits, and often has a gray core. See The most common type of decoration consists of bands of scalloping or finger indentations, often appearing as raised bands. These latter look like twisted ropes encircling the bodies and particularly the shoulders and necks of the vessels. The scalloped or finger-indented decorations are incised or impressed into the outer surface of the body of the vessel, and very frequently on to the top or outer edge of the rim and the edge of the ledge-handle.

In addition to the huge quantities of Chalcolithic sherds on Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī, there were large numbers of EBIA set and numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, and some of the ubiquitous Roman to Byzantine fragments of pottery. There were also several MBI sherds, but we are convinced that they are intrusive from the adjacent site of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī (199 a),

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. above, pp. 246, 276, 288, 290.

⁸⁶¹ Cf. BJPES X: 4, p. 102; above, p. 141.

⁸⁰² PPEB, pp. 14-41. 42-45; Bulletin 86, pp. 10-14; 89, pp. 22-25; above, p. 75, n. 163; Sukenik, Archaeological Investigations at Affula, p. 17.

⁸⁶³ Cf. RB LIV, 1947, pp. 397-403. 407-409; above, p. 129.

⁸⁶⁴ Ct. below, p. 422.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. above, pp. 60.71-76.84.87.

⁸⁰⁰ TG II, p. 73; AAA 23, 1936, p. 86.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. PPEB, Table of Related Deposits I.

which, as we shall see, was almost exclusively MBI, and littered with large quantities of the most typical kind of MBI sherds. By the same token, the few Chalcolithic and EBI sherds found on Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī obviously come from the Chalcolithic—EBI Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199b). The two sites were sharply separated from each other in periods of occupation by a gap of almost a millennium of years, even if there was only a stone's throw distance between them in space.

When the walls and houses of the MBI settlement of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī (199 a) were constructed on virgin soil, several hundred m. to the w. of Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī (199b), the strong likelihood is that its builders knew and saw no more of the remains of the much earlier Chalcolithic-EB I settlement than we did when we visited the latter,-namely masses of fragments of pottery. This large gap in the history of sedentary settlement on Tell Umm Hamâd explains why this site (and most of the others in the Jordan Valley and in the Transjordanian hill country of Gilead), is marked merely by a very low mound instead of a striking tell, which would apparently be more in conformity with its importance. The history of settlement of Tell Umm Hamâd illustrates dramatically what has manifested itself so frequently in our archaeological survey of the Jordan Valley and of Transjordan, that there were great gaps or depressions in the history of sedentary settlement. which militated against the familiar process of new settlements being built in a more or less continuous process, each upon the ruins of a predecessor, until the typical artificial mound was formed in the course of several thousands of years of sedentary civilization. These gaps can be explained only by the fact that such sedentary civilizations as survived political and economic catastrophes must have been severely restricted to a comparatively few strongholds, while the country at large reverted to a largely nomadic state of civilization, with the population decreased or displaced and nomadic inhabitants dwelling in tents and roving about and leaving no traces of their presence. This flow and ebb in the tide of urban settlement in the Jordan Valley and Transjordan, 868 and to a lesser degree in Palestine, 869 is to be ascribed to the development and growth and then to the weakening and destruction of agri-

ses Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 8.

best Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, p. 82, points out the relationship of the declining density of settlement in Transjordan (as established by the ASOR expeditions), which was followed before the end of the 20th century by virtually complete abandonment of the country to nomads for a very long period, to the fact that during the Tell Beit Mirsim H phase of EBIV, Palestine was evidently very sparsely settled. He adds: "It is scarcely accidental that this phase scarcely appears at all in the stratigraphic picture of Megiddo and Beth-shân, and that it was equally lacking in the lower strata of the mounds of the Shephelah."

culture and commerce and industry and stable, strong government rather than to periodic and radical changes of climate making large areas uninhabitable for men.⁸⁷⁰ Taking into account the possibility of variables such as decimating attacks of disease or destructive ravages of locusts for repeated and protracted periods, it seems, nevertheless, to be mainly the human factor, assuming the existence of soil and water and comparatively unchanging climate, which conditions the rise and fall of civilizations. This certainly holds true for Transjordan and the Jordan Valley and Palestine, and we wonder if it is not equally valid everywhere.

The very extensive, low rise of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī (199 a),⁸⁷¹ which, at its center, has an elevation of less than five m. above the plain surrounding the slight, cultivated slopes of the site, is almost exclusively an MB I site, dating from about 2100 to 1900 B. C.⁸⁷² There are small numbers of Chalcolithic and EB I sherds, which, as we have already noted, must have been carried over from Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī. There were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds and several stray Iron Age I-II pieces, the latter too having wandered over from Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī. It is important to emphasize again that this site, as so many other MB I sites in the Jordan Valley and Transpordan,⁸⁷³ was established on virgin soil. In this particular area of the double site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd, there was no sedentary civilization which produced pottery between approximately 3000 and 2100 B. C.

⁵⁷⁰ We would repeat here, what we have written in The River Jordan, p. 12, in this connection: "The change in the kind of men and women who peopled early Palestine may be correlated with important changes in climate. The gamut of change there in the period of the last 100,000 years extends from a damp and tropical climate when rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses, and elephants were plentiful, to a dry, warm climate at the beginning of the Mesolithic Natufian period about 10,000 years ago, when gazelles and deer became abundant. From that day to this, there seem to have been no major, permanent, climatic changes in Palestine or the Near East, or probably anywhere on earth. It is known that since then deserts have appeared in great stretches of the world where fertile fields once abounded; that streams, rivers, and lakes have vanished, leaving nothing but dry beds in their place; and that great populations have perished where once multitudes flourished. These changes during the last ten millenniums have popularly been ascribed to changes in climate. Wherever it has been possible to check, it has been determined that they must be ascribed rather to factors over which there is a large measure of human control. They belong to the history of the work of man, as it can be told from about 10,000 years ago until now." Cf. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, pp. 250-252.

⁸⁷¹ Bulletin 100, pp. 7-16.

pp. 6-7; AP, p. 82.

⁸⁷³ Cf. above, pp. 277-278, n. 774.

(between the 30th and 21st centuries B. C.). And with the end of the MB I, there was at Tell Umm Ḥamâd again a great gap which lasted till the beginning of Iron Age I, i. e. till about the end of the 13th or beginning of the 12th century B. C. The Iron Age settlement established itself unwittingly on the Chalcolithic–EB I site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī. Finally, there was a gap at Tell Umm Ḥamâd from the end of Iron II till the beginning of the Roman period, i. e., from the early part of the 6th till the 1st century B. C. 874

The excellence of the MBI pottery of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Gharbī, like that of the Chalcolithic pottery of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, would alone be sufficient to prove that this could not be an isolated MBI site, but was a part of an extensive, and very highly developed sedentary, urban civilization, highly skilled in the art of ceramics. The existence of this civilization has, furthermore, been attested to not only by similar pottery discovered on numerous sites in the Jordan Valley and Transjordan by the ASOR expeditions, but also in two systematic excavations in the Jordan Valley. At Jericho, MBI was well represented; Watzinger called this phase Spätkanaanitisch by a chronological error.⁸⁷⁵ At Beth-shân, only scanty remains of MBI have hitherto appeared in deep soundings, ⁸⁷⁶ but it is probable that more will be found in further excavations.

The MB I pottery of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī is so excellent and so distinctive as to be almost a classroom example of the period. In this MBI period, the potter's wheel was reintroduced to shape the necks and rims of the vessels, which were made of very well levigated clay and subjected to intense firing.877 The Late Chalcolithic pottery of the first phase of occupation of Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī could serve the same purpose. The inhabitants of both parts of Tell Umm Hamâd in their widely separated periods (namely that of Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqi which lasted, counting both its Late Chalcolithic and immediately subsequent EB IA periods from about 3400 to 3000 B. C., and that of Tell Umm Hamâd Gharbī from about 2100 to 1900 B. C.), supported themselves with the agricultural products of the rich lands of this southernmost part of the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, by the herds they must undoubtedly have had, and the commerce they must have engaged in. Potterymaking and weaving must have occupied the time of a considerable number of men and women, as did brickmaking and housebuilding, and all the pursuits of a rich, sedentary, agricultural civilization.

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. AP, pp. 44.112.

⁸⁷⁵ Sellin and Watzinger, Jericho, pp. 108-112; Garstang, AAA 1932, p. 158 and Pl. 35:1: Albright, AP, p. 80; Bulletin 95, p. 4, n. 6.

^{*70} FitzGerald, Museum Journal 1935, p. 16 and Pl. IX: 13. 14.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. Albright, AP, p. 78.

The history of the double site of Tell Umm Hamâd extended then from Late Chalcolithic to EBI, followed by a break which lasted till the beginning of MBI. During this MBI period there was another flourishing interval of some 200 years of civilized development, followed by another gap or most pronounced recession in the history of sedentary, agricultural, civilized settlement, which lasted till the beginning of the Iron Age. There then ensued another extended period of sedentary settlement, marked by houses and the production of pottery. This phase extended through Iron Age I from the 12th through the 10th century B. C., and particularly through Iron Age II from the 9th through the early part of the 6th century B, C. After that, there was again a gap, which lasted, so far as the testimony of pottery fragments is concerned, till the Roman period, and then another period of sedentary occupation developed which extended through the Roman and Byzantine periods, During these various gaps or breaks, human life did not cease, but civilized sedentary settlement on the basis of a complex agricultural economy did stop in any integrated fashion, because obviously the peaceful conditions did not prevail which made it possible. It is probable that nomads camped on the double site of Tell Umm Hamâd during the intervals of the absence of the sort of strong local authority and more or less interrelated city-governments, which kept the bedouins beyond the bounds of the fertile lands,878 and it is even possible that some of them at times may have carried on a haphazard kind of agriculture. Be that as it may, they left no traces of their presence behind them. They built no permanent houses, and they shaped and baked no enduring pottery.

The framework of the history of sedentary, civilized, agricultural settlement of the double site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd can serve, with some additions, for that of the entire Jordan Valley and of the hill country of Transjordan. The excavations at Jericho reveal the presence of Neolithic civilization. The entire course of the Chalcolithic civilization can then be followed in the Jordan Valley and the hill country both of Transjordan and Palestine, with an especial floruit in the Late Chalcolithic Period. Then a distinctive Early Bronze Age development can be followed, with a marked decline in the second half of the EB period, and with what seems to amount to a radical decline generally in the last quarter of that period, namely in EB IV. There follows a pronounced renaissance of sedentary civilization in the MB I period, with many of the MB I sites established on virgin soil. This fact presupposes the existence of a prolonged gap in the history of sedentary settlement prior to that period. It is obvious that the MB I village and town builders were fre-

⁸⁷⁸ Glueck, OSJ, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁷⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 264-265.

quently completely unaware of the location of the previous settlement, which their own actually replaced, because otherwise, as likely as not, they would have built on top of its ruins. The MBI builders would select a location, which best suited the natural economic and strategic needs of their new settlement. Occasionally, it happened to be identical with the one last occupied in the first part of the Early Bronze Age.

From the end of MBI to the beginning of the Iron Age, there is a very distinct recession in the density of sedentary occupation in the hill country of Transjordan, 880 and to a lesser degree, within a narrower time span, in the Jordan Valley. The sedentary occupation of the Jordan Valley continues in diminished proportions particularly during the first part of MB II, i.e. in MB IlA,—as is the case also to a very limited degree in the hill country of Transjordan,881 — and then recedes sharply from MB IIB down through LB IIA, and in the hill country of Transjordan down through LB IIB. In the Jordan Valley proper there is evidence of LB II occupation, but less than in Iron Age I. To put it conservatively, the sedentary, civilized occupation of the Jordan Valley, based upon an agricultural economy of high order, was much lighter between roughly the middle of the 18th and 14th centuries B. C. than before and after those dates. This applies with even greater force to most of the hill country of Transjordan, where this period could be extended to a severe and protracted recession lasting, approximately, from before the end of the 20th century to the 13th century B. C. 882 Parallels to the first part of this rapid decline and practical disappearance of sedentary settlement in most of Transjordan can be found in the related phenomenon in Palestine during the Stratum H period at Tell Beit Mirsim, and its equivalent at Megiddo and Beth-shân, among other places.883

Only the most strongly fortified centers could defend themselves and continue in existence in the long intervals when, in great stretches of the land, the nomads could camp at will on the ruins of formerly populous settlements. Places like Rabbath 'Ammôn in the hill country of Gilead on the e. side of the Jordan, or Beth-shân and Jericho in the Jordan Valley could, and in demonstrable instances did, maintain a more or less uninterrupted existence from neolithic or chalcolithic times on, or show exceptional evidence of say an MB II period of occupation in an area where otherwise little or none is manifest, sea but their histories too were subjected to protracted periods of decline and near-disappearance of sedentary settlements, when the results of such impacts as those of the Hyksos invasion and other disturbances had their

⁸⁸⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 265.

⁸⁸¹ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 266.

⁸⁸² Bulletin 90, p. 17, n. 77 a.

⁸⁸² Cf. Albright, AP, p. 82.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. above, p. 63, n. 117.

effect also on them. SSS We repeat, emphatically, that climatic changes had nothing to do in historical times SSS with the rise and fall and intervals of absence and subsequent reappearance of sedentary civilization, and then, in time, the repetition of the same cycle. SSST

With regard to the Jordan Valley proper, it is possible to assert, we think, that the history of civilization there can be traced from neolithic times down through EB I, and from then on down through the Iron Age, if we are content to take one particular site, for instance, as representative of one age or period, with the subsequent period being represented perhaps on a site some distance removed from the first site, and with the third period being represented perhaps by remains found on top of those of the first period on the first site. This is not to withdraw at all from what seems to us to be an incontrovertible conclusion derived from the masses of evidence presented, that in large sections of the Jordan Valley and to a greater extent and over a longer time in most

***ss5* Albright, *Bulletin** 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77 a, writes in this connection: "... Excavation has shown that Beth-shan was reoccupied after a long interruption about the 17th century and continued to be occupied until about the tenth. Pella was occupied in the late nineteenth..., and was also occupied in the early fifteenth century (cf. *Bulletin** 83, p. 33; 89, p. 9). Jericho was occupied right down through the entire period under discussion, period H at Tell Beit Mirsim being well represented, G-F being found and E-D extremely rich. I am inclined to think that the situation brought to light by Glueck's exploration is due to the fact that occupation became concentrated in fortified towns and castles during the Hyksos period instead of being distributed through unwalled settlements..."; cf. AP, pp. 85-87.

sse Albright. AP, p. 69, refers to the "final abandonment of Ghassul which may have been due to a general devastation of the country before 3500 B.C...," but it is important to emphasize the fact that that abandonment cannot possibly have been caused by climatic changes. This would seem furthermore to be borne out by the early-gap in the sedentary occupation of Jericho, which apparently extended between the Neolithic Jericho IX and the Early Chalcolithic Jericho VIII reaching down into the first part of the 4th millenium B.C. Only radical disturbances in public security could have prevented the continuation of sedentary, civilized settlement at Jericho, which still enjoys an age-old, rich and unceasing water supply. The possibilities for irrigationagriculture, which were employed by the inhabitants of Teleilât Ghassûl during the periods of its occupation exist by and large to the same degree to this very day. Cf. AP, pp. 251-252; below, p. 395, n. 1123.

ss? The existence of deep recession in sedentary occupation in most of the hill country of Transjordan between the 20th and 13th centuries B. C., and within a narrower time limit in the Jordan Valley, has been corroborated, as has previously been pointed out, by the archaeological survey of the es-Salt region by Père de Vaux and Père Benoit, by Albright's excavations at Ader, and Crowfoot's excavations at Bālû'ah, and by the significant silence of the Amarna tablets and of the Egyptian lists of conquered towns with regard to the areas and period in question; cf. ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 265; Albright, Bulletin 95, p. 6, n. 8; AP, pp. 79. 82-83. 186-187; FSAC, pp. 73-74.

of Transjordan, considerable gaps in the history of sedentary settlement present themselves, but merely to state that even in those areas and eras of emptiness or profound and protracted recession of urban occupation of the land based on an agricultural economy, some few, strategically placed civilized settlements continued to exist and to maintain more or less unbroken the story of the development of civilization, even if these sites changed masters frequently, and new languages and customs and religions and pottery made their appearance.

Excavations have revealed the presence of well-developed neolithic pottery at Jericho in the level of Jericho IX, followed after a considerable interval of time by the Early Chalcolithic level of Jericho VIII, with its typical flint arrowheads and characteristic pottery, some of which is decorated with "herringbone" notching.** We cannot follow Ben Dor, who says that "as the stratification of Jericho shows an immediate succession of Level VIII after the neolithic of Level IX, we have to conclude that the neolithic culture of Jericho had a long duration and that its latest phase existed contemporaneously with the Ghassulian chalcolithic," nor can we regard, as he does, the Chalcolithic as an "intrusive culture . . . which comes suddenly and replaces the native neolithic of Jericho." ** We believe rather with Wright "that a gap must exist in the intensity of occupation at Jericho between layers VIII and IX." ** It is similar to other gaps which existed in later periods in other parts of the Jordan Valley.

Following Jericho VIII, and such other Early Chalcolithic sites as Megiddo XX, pits below Beth-shân XVIII, Ghassul II(-III?), Tell es- Sa'īdîyeh (172), Khirbet 'Ain Dûq, Abū Naml by Sha'ar hag-Gôlân, some of the earliest settlements in the Wâdī Ghazzeh, the "Énéolithique Moyen" of Tell el-Fâr'ah, n. e. of Nablus, and the Mughâret Abū Uṣba' deposit containing flint arrowheads and pottery with "herringbone" notching, son came the Middle Chalcolithic period of Ghassul IV and the Ghassulian stratum of 'Affûleh and that

of Khudeirah.892

After the Middle Chalcolithic Ghassulian period, came the Late (Upper)

 ⁸⁵⁸ Cf. Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh, Pottery Notes, p. 484 to Pl. 78; 8.9; AP, p. 66; AJA LIII; 2,
 1949, p. 214; Biblica 28, 1947, p. 310; AAA 1937, pp. 35-51; Bulletin 86, p. 11; 89, p. 25.
 ⁸⁵⁰ AAA 23, 1936, p. 90.

⁸⁰⁰ PPEB, p. 27.

 $^{^{891}}$ TG I, p. 115, Fig. 60: 3.4; Bulletin 89, pp. 23.25; 114, p. 18; AP, p. 66; AJA LIII: 2, 1949, p. 214; Beth-shan, p. 7, and Pl. 3: 17.18.20; JAOS 70: 1, 1950, p. 57; above, p. 75, n. 163; p. 276; below, p. 484.

⁸⁰² SAIA, pp. 18-20; JPOS XVII, 1937, pp. 15-30; JAOS 70: 1, 1950, p. 57; AP, pp. 68. 69.

Chalcolithic period, extending from almost 3500 B. c. to about 3200 B. c., as Albright suggests. Sob It includes Beth-shan XVIII-XVI, the Esdraelon phases of Megiddo XIX and 'Affûleh, Sob respectively, the "Énéolithique Supérieur" of Tell el-Fâr'ah, and the earliest part of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199 b). This Late Chalcolithic period and the preceding Middle Chalcolithic period Sob would thus intervene between the predominantly Early Chalcolithic of Megiddo XX and the Early Bronze I part of Megiddo XIX, as they would between Early Chalcolithic Jericho VIII and EB I Jericho VII. The Middle Chalcolithic period of Ghassul IV A-B seems to be absent at Tell el-Fâr'ah, n. e. of Nablus, where the Early Chalcolithic ("Énéolithique Moyen") and the Late Chalcolithic ("Énéolithique Supérieur") occur. Sob A similar gap, extending through the Middle Chalcolithic period, exists in the histories of two early sites in the Jordan Valley between the Early Chalcolithic phase of Tell es-Saʿīdŷyeh (172) and the Late Chalcolithic phase of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199 b).

The most striking example of Late Chalcolithic in the Jordan Valley is Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, 506 contemporary with Beth-shân XVII-XVI, among others in the Jordan Valley, and with the "Énéolithique Supérieur" of Tell el-Far'ah near Nablus. 507 This was followed by EBI at Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, contemporary with such sites as Megiddo XIX B, Jericho VII-V and Beth-shân XV-XIV.

The ledge-handles found on this site are most distinctive, and, with a few exceptions which can be assigned to EBI, are typical of the Late Chalcolithic period. These Late Chalcolithic handles are long and narrow, and decorated with scalloping along their outer edges. They have almost always been stuck on to the sides of the previously completed vessels. The scalloping is usually done with some sort of a tool, such as a stick or quill, although some examples are thumb-indented.

Isolated examples of scalloped ledge-handles have been discovered in Jericho VIII, Teleilât Ghassûl, and Beth-shân XVIII, but Wright correctly points out that "these must be considered as introductory attempts at decorating

⁸⁰⁸ AJA LIII: 2, 1949, p. 214; AP, p. 70.

⁶⁰⁴ SAIA, pp. 21-42; AP, p. 70; AJA LIII: 2, 1949, p. 214; above, p. 75.

⁸⁹⁵ To prevent confusion, we are adopting the terminology of "Early, Middle, and Late Chalcolithic," as employed by Albright, AP, p. 65, instead of "Lower, Middle, and Upper Chalcolithic," which we, following Wright, PPEB, Table of Related Deposits I, have been using; cf. Bulletin 97, pp. 10-22.

^{***}sosa RB LIV, 1947, pp. 397-403. 406-409; LV, 1948, pp. 545-548, 558, 559; LVI, 1949, pp. 103-109, 113, 114; AJA LIII: 2, 1949, p. 214.

⁸⁰⁶ Bulletin 97, pp. 10-22; AP, p. 70.

⁶⁰⁷ RB LIV, 1947, p. 402.

the ledge-handle and thus certainly antedate Beth-shân XVII." ⁸⁹⁸ During the course of Beth-shân XVII, the scalloped ledge-handle almost entirely replaces the characteristic loop-handles of the Early Chalcolithic period with their thickened attachments, which continue down into Beth-shân XVII. ⁸⁹⁹ Late Chalcolithic scalloped ledge-handles occur at 'Affûleh ⁹⁰⁰ and at Tell el-Far'ah, ⁹⁰¹

To judge alone from the large number of fully developed, scalloped ledge-handles at Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, it would be possible to say that its main period of occupation was subsequent to Jericho VIII and Teleilât Ghassûl, as well as the very closely related Beth-shan XVIII, and is roughly contemporary with Beth-shân XVII-XVI. However, among the scalloped ledge-handles from Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī, we found none with the pronounced pushed-up tendency evinced in Beth-shân XVI, Pl. 2:5.902 This tendency came to the fore with the pushed-up type of ledge-handle characteristic of EB 1 b.903 There does seem to be a difference between the scalloped ledge-handles of Beth-shân XVII and those of Beth-shân XVI, the former being narrower than the latter. The scalloped ledge-handles of Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī are definitely narrower than those of Beth-shân XVI as published. The possibility may therefore exist of considering Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī as being more closely related to Beth-shân XVII than to Beth-shân XVI. On the other hand, this may be pressing the slight difference too far.

Tell ed-Dâmieh (200)

About 5.5 km. s. w.-s. s. w. of the double site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd (199) is Tell ed-Dâmieh 904 (200), located a little over half a km. s. w. of a sharp, backward turn to the n. w.-n., which the Wâdī Zerqā makes some distance before it finally joins the Jordan. It is situated in the rich bottom-land of the widened Zôr of the e. side of the Jordan, which has become merged with the widened Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā. The rather small Tell ed-Dâmieh (Fig. 103), located on a natural rise, occupies a commanding position, guarding to the w. the bridge that spans the Jordan and the road that leads up the Wâdī el-Far'ah to Nablus, and to the e. the road that leads past the Arab Legion police post on the top of a qaṭṭârah-hill, about a km. to the e. s. e.-e. of it, to es-Salţ in

⁸⁹⁸ Bulletin 97, p. 11; PPEB, p. 46; TG I, pl. 40: 3; AAA 22 (1935), Pl. 41: 6; 23 (1936), p. 87 and Pl. 32: 29 B; 42 b: 29; FitzGerald, Beth-shan, Pl. 2: 13.

Appendix PPEB, p. 46; cf. RB LIV, 1947, p. 409, Fig. 2: 22. 30.
 BOO SAIA, p. 41, Pl. VII: 1. 2. 4. 5. 7-12.

DOI RB LIV, 1947, Pl. XV: 18.21.22.

Pos FitzGerald, Beth-shan, p. 8.

⁹⁰³ Cf. Wright, PPEB, pp. 60.66.

⁰⁰⁴ Dec. 21, 1942; Bulletin 90, pp. 5-6; ANNUAL VI, p. 47; ZDPV 48, pp. A. 347-349.



Fig. 103. Tell ed-Dâmieh (Biblical Adamah) (200), with Qarn Şartabeh towering in the background over the w. side of the Jordan Valley.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

the hill country of Gilead. The road that leads w.-e. across the widened Zôr that Tell ed-Dâmieh dominates can be clearly seen in the air photograph (Fig. 104). This site also occupies a very strategic position with regard to the n.-s. tracks on both sides of the Ghôr of the Jordan Valley. A view from the air makes more understandable than any description the reasons why such a site as Tell ed-Dâmieh was bound to be of considerable importance (Fig. 105). Another track leads past the e. and s. e. side of this tell, and continues s. along the e. side of the cultivable part of the Jordan Zôr.

The plain of the Zôr, in which Tell ed-Dâmieh stands, is very fertile, being well irrigated by waters diverted both from the Wâdī Zerqā and Jordan streams. Even without considerations of strategic location, the rich farm lands around Tell ed-Dâmieh would inevitably have furnished the basis for the establishment of a sedentary settlement there or nearby. Indeed, we are certain that further, prolonged search will reveal the location of one or more settlements somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Tell ed-Dâmieh, which antedate those on Tell ed-Dâmieh.

The top of the mound of Tell ed-Dâmieh is about 22 m. in diameter, its steepest side being the e. one. On the w. side, the slope leads down to a bench, oriented n.-s. and measuring some 40 by 20 m., which is about 5 m. above the level of the plain below it. On the top and particularly along the slopes and around the base of the *tell* were found large numbers of sherds, some of which belong to LB II and others to the Roman and Byzantine periods, but with the largest quantity belonging to Iron Age I-II. 905

Tell ed-Dâmieh is generally and correctly identified with the Biblical Adam, 906 as referred to in Joshua 3:16, or as Adamah in I Kings 4:46 and II Chronicles 4:17. It retains in its present-day name a clear memory of its ancient name, which, in itself, however, without the ceramic evidence, would not be sufficient proof of its identity with the ancient Biblical site. 907 The pottery, the location, the Biblical and other literary evidence,—these are all criteria which must be satisfactorily settled before it is possible to say of Tell ed-Dâmieh, or any other similar place, that it is definitely to be identified with this or that Biblical site.

907 Bulletin 91, pp. 14. 15. 23.

⁹⁰⁵ Bulletin 90, p. 5; Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 47, reports having found wishbone-handled ware of LB II on Tell ed-Dâmieh; cf. Tell Abû Hâyet (154), Pottery Notes, p. 451, under Wish-bone handle.

⁸⁰⁶ Conder, SWP II, p. 387; Smith, HGHL, p. 487; Abel, RB VII, 1910, p. 555; Géographie . . . II, p. 238; Albright, Bulletin 19, p. 15, fig. 5, and p. 19; ANNUAL VI, pp. 47-48; Garstang, Foundations of History, Joshua: Judges, pp. 136. 355.



Fig. 104. The Jordan River in its Zôr, with the Wâdī Zerqā emptying into it on the right, and the thin line of the Wâdī Far'ah, which also joins the Jordan, visible on the left. In the right center of the widened Zôr is the small, whitish mound of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).



Fig. 105. Tell ed-Dûmich (200) in foreground, dominating confluence of Wâdl Zergā on right with River Jordan on left.
N. of it, the tongue of the Ghôr extends between the two rivers.

(The Matson Photo Service, Jerusalem).

Zarethan, Succoth, Zaphon

With the Biblical site of Adamah as the starting point, it is possible to fix the location of the other Biblical sites n. of it, on the e. side of the Jordan Valley, aside from Jabesh-gilead, which we have discussed above, and identified with Tell el-Megbereh-Tell Abū Kharaz (159).908 The east side of the n. half of the Jordan Valley, n. of Adamah, figures quite prominently in the pages of the Bible. Our only surprise after completing, more or less, the archaeological exploration of this lowland area, which was the seat of advanced, agricultural civilization from earliest historical times onward, is not that this area is mentioned in the Bible, but rather that the Biblical references to it are not far more numerous than they actually are. Most of the Jordan Valley is extremely fertile and is well watered, with large sections of it being comparatively easily irrigated by waters drawn off from perennial streams which traverse particularly the n. half and the southernmost part of its east side. It has, nevertheless, been generally assumed that the Jordan Valley has "never been populous," that most of the mounds in it "are probably the remains not of cities but of brick-fields," and that "towns have always been few in the Valley," and that it has "deserved the name of wilderness." 909 Three reasons have been advanced for this supposed state of affairs: the intolerable heat, the wild beasts, and the frequency with which it was overrun by Arabs. 910 It was because of this so-called intolerable heat that George Adam Smith said: 911

"It is not to be wondered at that the Israelites who possessed the hills on either side of the Jordan Valley should prefer to build their cities there, descending to the Valley only for sowing and reaping their harvest."

This observation was given a pseudo-scientific foundation by Ellsworth Huntington in his famous book, *Palestine and Its Transformation*, published in 1912, which popularized his theory that the development and downfall of civilizations in Palestine depended upon cyclic oscillations of climate and rainfall. 12 It was repeated, as Albright has pointed out, 12 in 1928 by Eduard Meyer, 14 who wrote that the Jordan Valley s. of Beth-shân and Pella was absolutely barren, "burning hot between its mountain walls," and that no

pos Cf. above, pp. 261-275.

pop Smith, HGHL, pp. 486-489; Bulletin 90, pp. 2-3; RJ, pp. 72-73.

⁰¹⁰ HGHL, p. 489.

⁹¹¹ HGHL, p. 489; cf. Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 68.

⁹¹² ANNUAL XV, p. 137; OSJ, p. 26; AP, pp. 250-252; above, pp. 321-322.

⁹¹³ AP, pp. 251-252.

⁹¹⁴ Geschichte des Altertums, II, 1º (1928), p. 96.

attempt had ever been made in pre-Roman times to make the soil productive by systematic irrigation.

Even as late as 1928, Eduard Meyer's statement might have been forgiven on the basis of lack of knowledge and understanding of archaeological data, although Albright's monograph on *The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age* ⁹¹⁸ had already appeared in 1926, and was *bahnbrechend*. There can, however, in view of all the scientific data available during recent years, be absolutely no excuse for the ignorant and jaundiced statement by Toynbee, republished in 1947, that the Jordan Valley "has never been the seat of a civilization." ⁹¹⁰

The writer spent months riding along the entire e, and much of the w, side of the Jordan Valley, sleeping each night in a different Arab tent, and questioning his hosts and other Arabs about the so-called terrible weather and living conditions and malaria of the Jordan Valley. Invariably they replied that life in the Valley was not considered at all intolerable, and that most of them resided there all year round. While many of them suffer from malaria, they are no more afflicted than are the inhabitants of numerous parts of the highlands of Transjordan and Palestine. The heat is bearable, although at times admittedly burdensome. Many Europeans have lived in recent years in the valley, without any apparent impairment of their own or their children's health. And the climate has not changed from late prehistoric times on. 917 The number of settlements and inhabitants in the Jordan Valley today depends now, as it has through the entire historical past, solely on human energy and its achievements and upon political security. On the e, side of the Jordan Valley alone, we have discovered more than 70 ancient sites, many of them founded more than 5000 years ago, and some of them earlier and others later. The Biblical description of Lot's impression of the Jordan Valley: "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and he beheld all the Valley of the Jordan. And lo, all of it was irrigated, . . . and it was like a garden of God" (Genesis 13:10), while applying specifically to the lower part of the Valley, including the entire Jericho region and the Plains of Moab, applies equally well to almost all the rest of the Jordan Valley. The Jordan Valley was not only one of the first settled sections, but also one of the richest parts of all Palestine and Transjordan, and productive of civilization as early as any in the Tigris and Euphrates and Nile valleys. To return to Smith's and Meyer's strictures with regard to Israelite settlement in the Jordan Valley, we can say that there are over 30 Iron Age I-II sites alone in the north half of the east side of the Jordan Valley, in the area between Jisr Mejâmi' and Jisr ed-Dâmieh.

⁹¹⁵ ANNUAL VI, pp. 13-74.

⁹¹⁶ A Study of History (Abridgement), p. 58.

⁹¹⁷ RJ, p. 12; above, pp. 321-322. 326; cf., particularly, Albright, FSAC, pp. 73-74.

The discovery of many ancient settlements in the Jordan Valley, which were marked by few or, more often than not, by no surface ruins, was made possible by using the evidence of potsherds. The knowledge of Palestinian pottery and the ability to date ancient sites from surface fragments were developed especially by Sir Flinders Petrie, Père Hugues Vincent, Clarence Fisher, and William F. Albright. Albright's predecessors in the archaeological exploration of the Jordan Valley could not possibly have found or properly dated most of the ancient sites which exist there in such comparatively large numbers, because by and large they can be recognized as antiquity sites and dated only by the potsherds lying about on their surfaces. One looks in vain, for the most part, for surface remains such as pillars and standing walls, especially in pre-Roman sites. Credit for whatever success may have been achieved by the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem,-Smithsonian Institution archaeological survey of the Jordan Valley is due primarily to the instruction in Palestinian archaeology and particularly in ancient Palestinian pottery, which the present writer received from William F. Albright, whose Tell Beit Mirsim pottery studies have become basic to Palestinian and Near Eastern archaeology. To be sure, our archaeological survey of the Jordan Valley could not possibly have taken place during the war years of 1942-1947 without the consistent encouragement and benevolent assistance of the Transjordan Government and the unfailing kindness and extraordinary hospitality of the Arabs of the Jordan Valley. Similarly, that part of our archaeological survey of Transjordan which took place in the years 1936-1940, when Palestine proper was torn apart by terrible and desperate armed uprisings, could not have been carried out, in continuation of work of previous years, without the help and unfailing kindness of everybody in Transjordan, and particularly of the then British Resident of Transjordan, and present British Minister to what is now called the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan, namely, Sir Alec Kirkbride. Albright was never able to visit one of the most important sections of the e. side of the Jordan Valley, extending between the Wâdī el-Yâbis and the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok), because of the hostility of the local tribesmen there in 1925, at the time of the Druze rebellion. 918

The ancient sites mentioned in the Bible which are located in the n. half of the e. side of the Jordan Valley are Adamah, Succoth, Zarethan, Zaphon, and Jabesh-gilead. The very paucity of names of sites in the Bible which it mentions as being in the Jordan Valley, is one of the reasons why the notion arose that, with very few exceptions, the Jordan Valley was abandoned during

D18 ANNUAL VI, pp. 14.44.

⁹¹⁹ Bulletin 89, pp. 2-6. 15, n. 44; 90, pp. 3-4; 91, pp. 8. 14; RJ, pp. 159-167; above, pp. 261-275, 303.

the Iron Age, being visited only during the planting and harvesting seasons in the winter and late summer, and being used in the winter and early spring for grazing purposes. Several partial explanations can be advanced for the failure of the Biblical writers to mention many more of the obviously important inhabited sites in the Jordan Valley than they did. The Bible would be interested (a) naturally, in mentioning specific places like Jabesh-gilead, where, or in relationship to which, events transpired which the Biblical editors considered to have point for their historico-theological narrative. They were neither interested in furnishing a Baedeker list of all towns in any given district, nor in writing an historical geography of the Holy Land or an onomasticon of Palestine. For them all history was subsumed under religion. They culled materials from source books such as the Book of Jashar, in order to elaborate the thesis which pervades every page of Sacred Writ, that God is One and Good, that He is the God of history, and that all men are His children. In addition, they were much too shrewd storytellers to burden their record with a multiplicity of unnecessary names.920

The Biblical account would, (b) be likely to mention only the most outstanding places in the Valley, which, because of their general importance, might be familiar to their readers and fit into some part of their story. Sites like Jerusalem or Jericho would come under this category, although almost invariably some historical happening took place there, which would have served to give point to the Biblical presentation, and would have necessitated the mentioning of such a site anyway.

The point must constantly be borne in mind, that the masses of the population in the Jordan Valley and in Palestine and Transjordan in any given period, were not at all familiar with the names of most of the sites outside of the particular area in which they were resident. This applies with particular emphasis to a sedentary rather than to a nomadic population, which will be acquainted with every unusual feature or almost every stone within the area of its wanderings. Through long experience in Transjordan and the Jordan Valley, the writer can say that the modern Arabs there in the settled sections know at best only the villages in their own immediate district, having otherwise seldom been outside of that district. To be sure, they may be familiar from hearsay with the names of some of the larger towns or villages outside of their immediate district. Most of the Arabs of 'Ammân, or of es-Salt for that matter, have never been in the Jordan Valley. Likewise, not a fraction of the inhabitants of Jerusalem or of Nablus are acquainted with it or with even the names of most of its settlements. To press the example home still-

⁹²⁰ OSJ, pp. 31-32; RJ, pp. 129-130.

further, the inhabitants of Beisân know nothing about the Jericho district and vice versa, although both are very important parts of the same Jordan Valley. As a matter of fact, the fellahîn, including those who live in tents most of the year round in the Jordan Valley, do not even know the names of the various sites a few km. away from the lands which they farm. And today, it must be remembered, the roads are much better than they used to be, and communication can be much more rapid.

Frequently (c), the Bible mentions only place-names which mark the limits of a given area, or the most important places within it. The example which comes most readily to mind is that contained in the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba." ⁹²¹ Thus, also, Judges 11:26 speaks of the area between 'Arô'ēr and Ḥeshbôn, which are the s. and n. points between the Wâdī Môjib (Naḥal Arnôn) and the Wâdī Ḥesbân (Naḥal Ḥeshbôn), ⁹²² and Num. 21:30 refers to the same area, mentioning some of its most important s. and n. sites, namely, Dībôn, Ḥeshbôn, and Mâdebā. ⁹²³ In Amos 1:12, the reference to Bozrah and Teimân indicates the extent of Edom from north to south. ⁹²⁴

We can, therefore, understand the reference to Adamah and Zarethan in Joshua 3:16, in the sense of listing two well-known places, and as fixing thereby the s. and n. limits of a certain district in the Jordan Valley. Although this text is somewhat difficult, its meaning is clear:

"Whereupon the waters descending from above rose, forming a single, solid mass, very far away, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, with the complete stopping of the waters (normally) descending to the Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt Sea; and the people passed over towards Jericho."

The Adam of this verse, more fully written Adamah in I Kings 4:46 and II Chronicles 4:17, is, as we have already mentioned, ⁹²⁵ generally and correctly identified with Tell ed-Dâmieh. It is the last true *tell* ⁹²⁶ on the e. side of the Jordan Valley, going southward, until one reaches the Wâdī Nimrîn. On the n. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn is located Tell el-Bleibil (203), and on its s. are Tell Nimrîn (202) and Tell el-Muştâḥ (195*). ⁹²⁷ Tell ed-Dâmieh (200) thus not only commands the road between Western and Eastern Pales-

⁹²¹ Judges 20: 1.

pas Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 243.

⁹²³ Bulletin 74, p. 3.

⁹²⁴ ANNUAL XV, p. 83.

⁹²⁵ Cf. above, p. 331.

⁹²⁶ Albright, Bulletin 90, pp. 17-18, n. 77 a.

our Bulletin 91, pp. 11.12; Annual XVIII-XIX, pp. 171.252; no. 195* is the number given to Tell el-Mustâh on the map in Annual XVIII-XIX. In this present volume, Tell el-Mustâh has been designated on the map as no. 203 a.

tine by dominating the crossing of the Jordan, but also marks the beginning of the heavily settled section of the Jordan Valley, between the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok) and the Wâdī Yarmûk. South of the Wâdī Zerqā, there are very few ancient settlements of any historical period until one reaches the Wâdī Nimrîn, owing to the fact that in the area of the Jordan Valley between the Wâdī Zerqā and the Wâdī Nimrîn there is a complete absence of perennial streams of water descending from the eastern hills and flowing across the valley to empty into the Jordan. 928

However much one may rationalize the damming up of the Jordan so that the Israelites could pass over it on dry land, in accordance with Joshua 3:16, by listing recorded landslides which could indeed for a time possibly have blocked the normal channel of the Jordan, 929 the fact remains that the part of the verse which reads: "very far away, at Adam (ah), the city that is beside Zarethan" still makes little sense in its present form. 930 The best suggestion for the proper reading of this phrase in Joshua 3:16 has been made by Albright, 931 who proposes "as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan." That is obviously more nearly what the text meant to convey. It wanted to describe this great wall of water which was formed, reaching all the way from Adamah as far north as Zarethan. The writer finds the words "as beside" unusual and difficult in this context, and would have preferred a sentence which read simply "as far from Adamah as Zarethan." The consonants of the word msd, which occur in the Masoretic text in the vocalized form necessitating its translation as "beside," should perhaps be vocalized as mesad, namely "fortress," 932 occurring here in the construct form. The waters, therefore, did not reach "as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan," but, to change part of Albright's suggestion, rather "as far from Adamah as the Fortress of Zarethan."

⁹²⁸ Bulletin 90, p. 3; ANNUAL VI, p. 48.

⁹²⁹ Bulletin 90, p. 6; Garstang, Joshua: Judges, pp. 136-137; ZDPV 48, 1935, p. A. 349.

one In Joshua: Judges, p. 355, Garstang attempts to explain the words "very far away" in Joshua 3: 16, as referring to the fact that Tell ed-Dâmieh, i. e. Adamah, is 16 miles n. of Jericho, which, under the conditions of travel in the desolate region s. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, would indeed make it very far away. That belabored explanation is hardly acceptable. Moreover, it leaves the major difficulty of explaining the location of Tell ed-Dâmieh (Adamah) as "the city that is beside Zarethan" completely unsolved. Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, p. 95, agrees with Garstang apparently, although he does not refer to him in this particular instance. As a matter of fact, however, elsewhere in the same volume, op. cit., p. 403, Garstang more correctly locates Zarethan "between the ford of El Damieh and Beisan."

⁹⁸¹ JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

oss Cf. I Chron. 11:7; 12:9.16; Albright, Bulletin 90, p. 6, n. 19.

It is obvious from this corrected form of Josh. 3:16, that (a) Zarethan is n. of Adamah.—and it would seem a fair distance n. of it. The text means clearly to convey that this wall of water damming up the Jordan extended n, as far as Zarethan, leaving the bed of the Jordan dry to the s, of Adamah, and enabling the Israelites to cross over freely and easily to the w. bank of the Jordan. It is furthermore obvious (b), that Zarethan must have been a very well-known landmark, and that, aside for the moment as to where it was located, the Biblical writer was saving that the wall of water extended between the two points of Adamah and Zarethan. Zarethan must also (c) have been an important site, perhaps well known to the general public, and (d) it must have been occupied in the Late Bronze Age as well as in the Iron Age. Furthermore, (e), like Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh), the site of Zarethan must have been situated in or very near the Zôr of the Jordan, because otherwise, if it were situated some distance from the Jordan, it would have made no sense to say that the wall of water extended from Adamah as far as the Fortress of Zarethan. No one on a site in the center or e. side of the Ghôr, assuming, as we do, that this is the side which figures in the account of Josh. 3:16, could have seen such a wall of water in the deep depression of the Zôr. 933 The same logic would apply, naturally, if Zarethan were possibly situated towards the middle or w. side of the Ghôr on the w. side of the Jordan. 934

The magnificent double site of Tell es-Sa'idîyeh (172) meets all of these requirements.925 It is (a) some 18 km. n. n. e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), and is (b) one of the most prominent sites in the Jordan Valley, being an outstanding landmark. Its strategic location (c) at the w. end of the e. side of the Ghôr, overlooking the Zôr and the Jordan River, and overlooking from the s. side the springs and perennial stream of the Wadī Kufrinjeh, endowed it with supreme importance in the region it dominated. Its importance is emphasized furthermore by its long history of sedentary occupation, (d) commencing, so far as testimony of surface sherds is concerned, with the Early Chalcolithic period, and continuing with some depression intervals through Iron Age II.936 There is no other site in the Jordan Valley which can compete with Tell es-Sa'idîyeh for identification with Zarethan. As a result of the miraculous damming up of the waters of the Jordan from Adamah as far n. as the Fortress of Zarethan, the Israelites, setting out from just below Adamah, were able dry-shod to cross over the bed of the Jordan to reach the Land of Promise on its w. side.

⁰³³ Cf. RJ, p. 71. 034 Bulletin 90, p. 6.

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. above, pp. 290-295; Pottery Notes, pp. 483-487; Albright, Annual VI, p. 46; Abel, RB VIII, 1911, p. 415.

⁵²⁶ Cf. above, p. 292.



Fig. 106. Jordan River s. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, with the Wâdī el-Far'ah joining it on the left.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

In striking confirmation of the identification of Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh with Zarethan, is a Talmudic reference to the distance between Adamah and Zarethan as referred to in Joshua 3:16.937 A third-century scholar, Rabbi Joḥanan, in considering the relative positions of Adamah and Zarethan, describes them as being 12 miles apart. This is just the distance between Tell ed-Dâmieh (Adamah) and Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh (Zarethan). Others, however, ignore Rabbi Joḥanan's statement that Adamah and Zarethan were 12 miles apart, and gratuitously assume that his reference to these two sites meant that they were opposite each other, in other words that Zarethan was somewhere on the w. side of the Jordan, opposite Adamah on the e. side.938 Pursuing then this gratuitous assumption, Klein,939 for instance, identified Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh (253 b) on the w. side of the Jordan, approximately opposite Adamah. If Klein had measured the distance between Tell ed-Dâmieh and Qarn Ṣarṭabeh, he would have seen that they are only about 5 miles apart in a straight line.

Indeed, Qarn Ṣarṭabeh has been put forward as one of the main candidates for identification with Zarethan by many scholars. Aside from the reasons which have been advanced above for the identification of Zarethan with Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh in preference to all other sites, we regard the identification with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh as topographically, archaeologically, philologically and exegetically impossible. The proponents of the identification of Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh evidently are not concerned with how far the wall of water mentioned in Joshua 3:16 extended to the north, but apparently concern themselves only with the fact that it reached from e. to w. across the river,—which, of course, it did. One of the main reasons adduced for the identification of Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh has to do with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh's striking position, approximately opposite that of Tell ed-Dâmieh. It is on top of an

⁹³⁷ We are indebted to Dr. B. Maisler for calling our attention to Klein's discussion in his "Palästinisches im Jubiläenbuch," ZDPV 57, p. 11, of Rabbi Johanan's remark. Cf. Talmud Jerushalmi, ed. Ven., Sotah VII, 5.

pas Klein, loc. cit.; Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, pp. 98-99; cf. Alt, PJB XXIX, p. 44, n. 2; Guthe in Marti's Festschrift, Beiheft ZAW 41, p. 98.

⁹³⁹ Klein, loc. cit.

⁸⁴⁰ Abel, Géographie . . . , II, pp. 450-451; RB X, 1913, pp. 227-234; Benzinger, Die Bücher der Könige, 1899, p. 54; Klein, loc. cit.; Buhl, Géographie des alten Palästina, 1896, pp. 181-206; Burney, The Book of Judges, 1920, pp. 221. 222; Van de Velde, Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852, II, pp. 322-323.

out The necessity of locating Zarethan n. of Tell ed-Dâmieh was seen by Alt, PJB XXIV, 1928, pp. 42-44, who identifies it with Khirbet el-Qarûr, and by Albright, as demonstrated by his emendation of Josh. 3: 16. Depending upon Abel's description of Tell Sleikhât, which he, himself, had not been able to visit, Albright at one time tentatively suggested that site (see the discussions of these identifications below).

outspur of a range of hills overlooking the Jordan Valley from the w. One of the objections to this identification is that no sherds were found on Qarn Şarţabeh, except Hellenistic-Roman ones, which were contemporary with any of those found on Tell ed-Dâmieh. The careful examination of Qarn Şarţabeh by Moulton has revealed that the pottery found there, which was examined also by Fisher and Albright, could not be dated earlier than the 2nd century A.D. Herthermore, if the wall of water had stretched from Tell ed-Dâmieh even to the base of the monumental hill on which Qarn Şarţabeh is located, it would have flooded most of the Jordan Valley, having to rise perforce not only above the Zôr, but also well above most of the Ghôr of the Jordan.

Indeed, if the writers of the account in Josh. 3:16 could have had any place in mind for Zarethan on the w. side of the Jordan, that was contemporary with Tell ed-Dâmieh, it would have had to have been Tell el-Mazâr (254),945 which lies in a broad plain at the lower end of the Wâdī el-Far'ah.946 Tell el-Mazâr is about 5.5 km. n. n. e.—n. e. of Qarn Ṣarṭabeh, and is about 7 km. n. w.—w. n. w. of Tell ed-Dâmieh. Its sherds belong to Iron Age I-II and to the Roman and Byzantine periods.947 Tell el-Mazâr is not on the e. side of the Jordan and n. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, as we believe we have shown that the Zarethan of Joshua 3:16 ought to be. Nor does Tell el-Mazâr overlook the Zôr of the Jordan, across whose width alone the wall of water could have stretched.948

The possibility of identifying Zarethan with Tell el-Mazâr has been previously rejected also by Alt, who then very tentatively proposed its identification with Khirbet Qarûr, situated some 11 km. n. of Wâdī el-Far'ah and 17 km. s. of Wâdī el-Mâliḥ. His main reason for this suggestion was its nearness to the supposed position of Abel-meḥôlah, which he, in common with many others, considered to be on the w. side of the Jordan, 350 and because in a recon-

our This matter does not perturb Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, pp. 96-97, at all, who, determined to equate Zarethan with Qarn Şartabeh, explains away the difficulty of finding the proper kinds of pottery on Qarn Şartabeh by saying that Scripture does not require us to assume that there was a settlement at Zarethan-Qarn Şartabeh in the Iron Age, as evidenced, according to him furthermore by the fact that the Vulgate mentions Zarethan simply as a place, while it characterizes Adam(ah) as a city. Sic!

⁹⁴⁸ Bulletin 62, pp. 14-18; cf. Abel, RB X, 1913, pp. 227-234.

⁰⁴⁴ Bulletin 62, p. 18.

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. below, pp. 418-419.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. Noth, Das Buch Josua, 1938, p. 14; Alt, p. 41; Abel, RB X, 1913, p. 227; Guthe, pp. 102. 104-105.

⁰⁴⁷ Cf. Bulletin 62, p. 14.

⁰⁴⁰ Alt, p. 44.

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. Guthe, p. 99.

⁹⁵⁰ Alt, p. 41.

struction of I Kings 4:12, which had been proposed, Zarethan was placed near Abel-meḥôlah. ⁹⁵¹ Alt, however, made the suggestion with regard to Khirbet el-Qarûr with considerable reserve, because he, himself, had not been able to examine the site. ⁹⁵² Actually, to judge from Conder's description of it, it would not seem to be earlier than Roman. ⁹⁵³ Even if it were, the fact that it is a small, unimportant site at best, and is located on the w. side of the Jordan, would be sufficient to rule it out of consideration. The same objections apply to Tell Abū Sidreh, situated below Khirbet el-Qarûr, and close to the Jordan. ⁹⁵⁴

Some linguistic gymnastics have been indulged in to prove that Ṣarṭabeh, the Talmudic Ṣarṭabā, 955 might be derived from the name Ṣarethân. 956 They are less than convincing, even when repeated. 957 To sum up, then, even assuming for the moment that according to the reconstruction of I Kings 4:12 Abel-meḥôlah were near Zarethan, and both were on the w. side of the Jordan, we can, in agreement with Albright, 958 Moore, 959 and Alt, 960 see no possible way in which Zarethan can be identified with Qarn Ṣartabeh.

Having definitely and correctly placed the site of Zarethan on the e. side of the Jordan and n. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, Albright, 961 at one time, tentatively identified Zarethan with "the fine mound of Sleihat, 962 somewhat n. of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, which he himself was unfortunately unable to visit. 963 Abel

was first fully proposed by Albright, JPOS V, pp. 33-34; ANNUAL VI, pp. 44.47; Bulletin 19, p. 18; cf. Alt, pp. 42, n. 4; 44. Albright, however, interpreted his own reconstruction to signify that Zarethan was on the e. side of the Jordan, opposite Abelmehôlah, which he, at the time still considered to be on the w. side of the Jordan; cf. ANNUAL VI, p. 47. Burney, The Book of Judges, pp. 221-223, had previously suggested with regard to I Kings 4: 12 that the phrase "which is by Zarethan" should follow "Abel-mehôlah"; cf. Biblia Hebraica, 1937, ad loc.

⁹⁵² Alt, p. 44.

⁹⁵³ SWP II, p. 238.

⁰⁵⁴ Alt, p. 44, n. 3; Conder, SWP II, p. 246; cf. Dalman, Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästing, phot. 84, for position of Tell Abū Sidr(eh); below, p. 419.

⁹⁵⁵ Rosh hash-Shanah II, 4; Abel, Géographie . . . I, p. 377; II, p. 242.

⁰⁵⁶ Klein, ZDPV 57, pp. 9.11; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 450; Van de Velde, II, p. 322; cf. Burney p. 220.

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. Naor, BJPES XIII: 3-4, 1947, p. 96, n. 44.

⁹⁵⁸ JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37 end; ANNUAL VI, pp. 46-47.

⁹⁵⁹ Judges, p. 213.

⁹⁸⁰ PJB XXIV, 1928, pp. 41-42.

⁹⁶¹ Cf. above, p. 339, n. 931.

⁹⁰² ANNUAL VI, p. 47; JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

⁹⁸⁸ ANNUAL VI, pp. 14.44.

speaks of it as "l'imposant tell Sliḥât," but apparently did not examine it closely, 964 and Steuernagel merely mentions it by name. 965 Albright's deduction with regard to the general position of Zarethan was absolutely correct when he said: "Şaretan must then be identified with one of the ruins lying about the mouth of the Wâdī Kafrinjī . . ." 966

The writer has serious objections, however, to identifying Tell Sleikhât (166 b) with Biblical Zarethan: (a) It is not situated close to the Jordan, as is Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh (172), but is very close to the foothills on the e. side of the Jordan Valley; (b) it is not located on or immediately near a natural boundary-line, such as an important $w\hat{a}d\bar{t}$; (c) it is situated close to several other $tul\hat{u}l$, namely Tell el-'Aqâreb (166) ⁹⁶⁷ and Tell Abū Daḥnûn (167), ⁹⁶⁸ both of which are incomparably more important as ancient sites; and (d), which we might, of course, have mentioned first, it is definitely not a tell, but a completely natural hill, with no traces whatsoever of any ancient sedentary occupation, except a few scraps of Byzantine pottery, which prove nothing. It is, in fact, nothing more than a tell-like out-cropping of the eastern foothills. However, even if Tell Sleikhât were a proper tell, with the proper kinds of ancient pottery on it, it would still not come into consideration for identification with Zarethan, because of the other reasons listed above. ⁹⁶⁹

The identification of Zarethan depends too upon the proper understanding of I Kings 7:46 and II Chronicles 4:17, in which latter verse, it is generally agreed, Sarethân should be read instead of Serēdah. These verses inform us that the copper castings for the temple were made in the Jordan Valley between Succoth and Zarethan. The major difficulty in understanding the plain text in these verses is caused by the words bema'abeh ha'adamah in I Kings 7:46, ba-'abī ha'adamah in II Chron. 4:17. It is quite possible, it seems to us, to translate the text literally, and to render bema'abeh ha'adamah or its equivalent ba'abī ha'adamah with earthen foundries or, more specifically, clay moulds. To the other words, the copper was poured in the foundries or moulds which existed in the Jordan Valley, where there was good clay for the purpose between Succoth and Zarethan. For operations as large, and for

⁹⁶⁴ Géographie . . . II, p. 34; RB VIII, 1911, p. 416.

Des ZDPV 48, p. A. 341.

⁹⁶⁶ JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37 end.

⁹⁶⁷ Bulletin 90, p. 13; cf. above, pp. 281. 283.

⁹⁶⁸ Cf. above, pp. 283-284.

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Bulletin 90, pp. 6-7; above, pp. 337-338.

⁵⁷⁰ Bulletin 90, p. 13; Benzinger, Die Bücher der Könige, p. 54; Curtis, The Book of Chronicles, p. 334; Albright, JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37, points out that "ma'abeh has a plausible etymology from the stem 'by, 'be thick, solid'." Cf. harsé 'adamah, "earthen sherds," and mizbah 'adamah, "earthen altar."

objects as numerous as those necessary to furnish the Temple with all the metal materials it required, smelting and refining and manufacturing operations may have been carried on in the Jordan Valley, not to speak of the Wâdî el-'Arabah,⁹⁷¹ in numerous places at the same time. These places, according to the present reading of the Masoretic text, were situated between Succoth and Zarethan. There are 17 Iron Age I-II sites between Tell ed-Dâmieh (Adamah) and Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh (Zarethan), without counting these two sites. Tell Deir'allā (Succoth) is, of course, included among them. At certainly a few, and perhaps many of these places, coppersmiths were at work, turning out the copper vessels required for the new temple. As a matter of fact, we found several pieces of copper slag on Tell Deir'allā, which undoubtedly resulted from the smelting and refining operations conducted in the Kikkar hay-Yarden.⁹⁷²

Most scholars, however, prefer to regard the 'adamah of I Kings 7:46 and of II Chron. 4:17 as being a place name, namely the Adamah (Adam) mentioned in Josh. 3:16.973 Accordingly, they are constrained to omit the definite article of ha'adamah in I Kings 7:46 and II Chron. 4:17. Without any changes in the text then, the resulting translation of the words in question in these two verses would be:

"in the foundries (or forms) of Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan."

The majority of the scholars, furthermore, accepting a suggestion originally made by George Foote Moore 974 read:

"at the crossing of Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan."

In other words, according to this suggestion, the industrial activities in connection with the pouring of the metal for the temple objects in the Kikkar hay-Yarden were carried on at the Jordan ford of Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh).

A number of difficulties arise in this connection whether one reads "in the foundries of Adamah" or "at the crossing of Adamah." One question that Albright ⁹⁷⁵ quite properly raises with regard to the latter translation is: Why should the copper be cast "in the ford of Adamah?" or at the ford of Adamah, for that matter? And the second greater difficulty which arises if 'adamah in either I Kings 7:46 or II Chron. 4:17 is read as a place name,

⁹⁷¹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 3-53; OSJ, pp. 56-88.

⁹⁷² RJ, pp. 71-72.

⁹⁷⁸ Albright, Moore, Benzinger, Curtis, Burney, Klein, etc.

⁶⁷⁴ Moore, Judges, pp. 212-213, n. 21, suggests b^ema'aberet (ha-)'Adamah; cf. Lagrange, Le Livre dees Juges, 1902, p. 139.

⁹⁷⁵ JPOS V, p. 23, n. 37.

is how to understand the continuation in these verses, which reads: "between Succoth and Zarethan." Adamah would then have to be located between Succoth and Zarethan, with Succoth (Tell Deir'allā) being s. of Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh), or e. of it, and with Zarethan n. or w. of Adamah.

Albright, who reads 'adamah as a place name and retains be-ma'abeh or ba-'abī as meaning "foundries of" in I Kings 7:46 and II Chron. 4:17, resorts to text transposition to find a way out of the dilemma. He writes: 976

"The compiler of Kings, whom the Chronicler followed, has evidently made a mistake, transposing the towns; we should read, in all likelihood: 'in the foundries of Succoth, between Adamah and Saretan.'"

Albright quite properly underlines thus, what is an unalterable fact, that it is Succoth which lies between Adamah and Zarethan and not the reverse, i. e., Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan. As suggested above, however, we feel that the original text can be kept without resorting to any textual changes whatsoever, 977 not even with regard to the definite article of ha'adamah in both verses, and we would translate as already indicated:

"in the earthen foundries (or, in the thickened earthen moulds) between Succoth and Zarethan."

Succoth was probably one of the best known sites in the Jordan Valley. While it might have been well to describe a point or a stretch of land between Succoth and Zarethan or between Adamah and Succoth, it would hardly have been necessary to describe Succoth itself as being located between the two other sites, as the above-mentioned transposition does.⁹⁷⁸

What then is the evidence for the location of Succoth? The Biblical evidence is very clear to the effect that it was located in the east Jordan Valley, 979

⁹⁷⁶ JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

to each other, it has occurred to us that it might have been well if instead of ba'abī or be-ma'abeh ha-'adamah in II Chron. 4: 17 and I Kings 7: 46 the text had read be-eber hay-Yardēn. We would then have reference in these two verses to three, distinctive, and progressively narrowing geographical limitations, namely, (a) the kikkar, which can include the entire Jordan Valley, (b) on the other side of the Jordan, informing the reader that the place mentioned was on the e. side of the Jordan, and (c) between Succoth and Zarethan, giving an even more specific localization. This geographically satisfying text would then have read: "in the kikkar, the king cast them, on the c. side of the Jordan, between Succoth and Zarethan." Cf. Gen. 13: 10. The word kikkar can also refer to a part of the Jordan Valley, as seen in Deut. 34: 3, where kikkar and the biq'ah of Jericho are synonymous; cf. RJ, p. 72.

978 Cf. Bulletin 90, p. 14.

⁹⁷⁹ Gen. 33: 17; Psalms 60: 8; 108: 8; Josh. 13: 27; Judges 8: 5. 6. 14; I Kings 7: 46.

close to the point where the Jabbok emerges from the eastern hills into the valley. It can be seen all the way from Tell ed-Dâmieh. Its association with the Jacob and Gideon stories makes it likely that this site was important both in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The actual examination of the great mound of Tell Deir'allā (184), which is about 12.5 km. n. n. e.-n. e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), and which, as commonly and correctly agreed, is to be identified with Biblical Succoth, revealed the presence of some MB II and LB II sherds, and great quantities of Iron Age I-II sherds, as has already been pointed out above, where the topographical and archaeological details concerning it have been discussed. The Biblical, topographical, and archaeological evidence thus all substantiate the equation of Tell Deir'allā with Biblical Succoth. Albright summed up the previous consensus of opinion with regard to the relationship of Tell Deir'allā and Succoth when he said: 982

"The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir'allā agrees so well with the indications of the Jacob and Gideon stories that it is generally accepted and cannot be far wrong."

This identification was already made in the Talmud, according to which Dar'alah or Tar'alah is to be identified as Succoth. 983

Dominating its wide and rich and intensively cultivated plain, the *ēmeq Succôth,** formed by the union of River Jabbok (Wâdī Zerqā) valley with that of the Jordan Valley, Succoth was a natural landmark and district boundary point, as we have already seen,** fixing the s. limit of the area between Succoth and Zaphon,** and serving as the gateway to and from the lands to the east of the Jordan Valley. Here Jacob rested after leaving Penuel on the Jabbok:

"So Esau returned that day on his way to Seir. And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him a house, and made booths $(sukk\hat{o}th)$ for his cattle, wherefore the name of the place is called Succoth." 087

There have been some, however, who wanted to identify or who considered the possibility of identifying Biblical Succoth not with Tell Deir'alla (184),

DSO Cf. Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 47.

⁹⁸¹ Ct. above, pp. 309-310.

⁰⁸² ANNUAL VI, p. 46; cf. Bulletin 35, p. 13; Dalman, PJB 1913, p. 72; Hölscher, ZDPV 33, p. 21; Smith, HGHL, p. 487; Merrill, pp. 385-388; Noth, Das Buch Josua, p. 55

⁹⁸⁸ Talmud Yerushalmi, Shebi'ith IX, 2, 38 d, bottom; Merrill, pp. 386-387; Klein, Eber hay-Yardên hay-Yehūdi, p. 12.

⁹⁸⁴ Ps. 60: 8; 108: 8.

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. above, p. 299, n. 813.

⁹⁸⁶ I Kings 7: 46; Josh. 13: 27.

⁹⁸⁷ Gen. 33: 16.17; cf. RJ, pp. 147-155.

but rather with Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ (186), ⁹⁸⁸ about 2.6 km. w. s. w. of Tell Deir'allā. It has already been described above. ⁹⁸⁹ Its LB II and Iron Age I-II sherds were contemporary with those of Tell Deir'allā. The primary attraction of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ to those who would identify it with Succoth, lies in its name, which means "Mound of Booths." This is, as Père Abel has suggested, ⁹⁸⁰ a direct translation of Succoth, which means Booths. And that, aside from its pottery and the general geographical position it occupies in the proximity of Tell Deir'allā, is its particular claim to recognition as the original site of Biblical Succoth.

It would, furthermore, be difficult to identify Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ as the site of Succoth, because it is (a) comparatively speaking, a considerable distance from the Jabbok (the Wâdī Zerqā), near which Succoth should be according to the Biblical account; (b) it lacks the wider range of periods of pottery that Tell Deir'allā possesses; it is (c) insignificant in size compared to Tell Deir'allā, and could under no circumstances ever have been considered the main site of the area, with Tell Deir'allā being a suburb of it, instead of the other way round; and, (d), it is hardly the kind of site that would have given its name to the entire surrounding district, namely the name of 'Emeq Sukkôth. In short, neither the archaeological, topographical, or Biblical evidence substantiates in any way the theory formerly held by some, that Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ can be identified with Succoth.

The attractive name of "Mound of Booths," Sukkôth, which, as we have seen, is what Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ means, may be completely fortuitous. If, however, this name does actually reflect that of Biblical Succoth, "Booths," then it is well to remember that it was not an uncommon practice for an ancient place name to shift from an abandoned site to a new one in the vicinity. These changes were particularly frequent in the Hellenistic-Roman period. ⁹⁹¹ Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ was occupied during the Roman and Byzantine periods, as well as during the LB II and Iron Age I-II periods, to judge from the sherds found there. ⁹⁹²

One site which would merit more serious consideration than Tell el-Ekhşâş

^{**} Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 470; Garstang, Joshua: Judges, p. 400; cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 46; Bulletin 35, pp. 33-34; 90, p. 16.

oso Cf. above, pp. 311-312.

⁰⁰⁰ Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 470; RB VII, 1910, p. 556.

ool Cf. OSJ, p. 27; RJ, p. 155; Bulletin 91, pp. 25-26; Albright, Annual VI, p. 46, who had considered the possibility of identifying Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ rather than Tell Deir'allā with Succoth, wrote, nevertheless, at the same time: "This idea commends itself, but it does not necessarily follow that the mound (Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ) is actually the site of Succoth, since the name may have wandered."

⁰⁰² Cf. above, p. 312.

for identification with Biblical Succoth, is Tell Qa'adân (183). 993 It is about half a km. n. e. of Tell Deir'allā. In addition to LB II and Iron Age I-II sherds, and some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic ones, there were some Chalcolithic sherds there. We have considered this site, as well as that of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ to be included among the suburbs and satellite towns of Tell Deir'allā. If, however, we had to choose only between the two sites of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ and Tell Qa'adân for the one to be identified with Biblical Succoth, we would select the latter, as being nearer to the Jabbok, and being occupied during a longer range of history. Neither of these sites, however, nor any other in the vicinity, can take the place of Tell Deir'allā for identification with Succoth. 994

There is, we believe, only one other possibility for identification with Succoth, which needs to be considered, and that is the great double site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd (199).995 It is about 5.7 km. n. e.-n. n. e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), and a little less than 7 km, s. s. w.-s. w. of Tell Deir'alla. It is perhaps the most extensive site in the entire Jordan Valley, and one of the most important. The e. part of the great double site overlooks the Jabbok. While this e. part, which we have designated Tell Umm Hamâd Sherqī, had an Iron Age I-II occupation, in addition to the striking and extensive Late Chalcolithic settlement, which was followed by an EBI settlement, nevertheless, its Iron Age settlement could not compare in density with that on Tell Deir'alla, nor did the site have the outstanding, physical prominence that makes Tell Deir'alla such a striking landmark and boundary point. 996 Furthermore, being, as compared with Tell Deir'alla, a considerable distance from the point where the Jabbok stream emerges from the e. hills into the merged Jabbok-Jordan Valley, Tell Umm Hamâd does not fit as well into the Jacob-Esau story as Tell Deir'alla does. Because of these negative factors, we believe that Tell Umm Hamâd cannot be considered for identification with Biblical Succoth, without even taking into account all the positive factors which we think, in common with most others, make Tell Deir'alla the only possible site which can be equated with the place, where Jacob built himself a house and booths, as told in Genesis 33:17.

If then Succoth and Tell Deir'allā are equated, it remains for us to determine the location of Zaphon, which is associated with Succoth in Joshua 13:27, as the northern of two important and outstanding district capitals or boundary strongholds, both of them n. of Adamah on the e. side of the Jordan

⁹⁰⁸ Cf. above, pp. 310-311.

⁹⁹⁴ Bulletin 90, p. 18.

⁹⁹⁵ Cf. above, pp. 318-329; Bulletin 90, pp. 18-19; 97, pp. 10-22; 100, pp. 7-16.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. above, p. 348.

Valley. The other two sites mentioned in this verse, namely Beth-haram and Beth-nimrah, represent two of the outstanding points of the s. part of the e. side of the Jordan Valley between the n. e. end of the Dead Sea and the Wâdī Nimrin. Ot Actually, these four places listed in Joshua 13:27, which are Beth-haram, Beth-nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphon are located progressively from south to north. They were all strategically located, generally well known, and represented the kind of places which generally fitted into the distinctive genre of historical writing which the editors of the Bible employed.

It is obvious then from Joshua 13:27, that (a) Zaphon must be the next important site n. of Succoth, and that it probably stands at the n. end of the district, paralleling Succoth at the s. end; (b) it must be a prominent place, serving as an easily recognized landmark; and (c) was probably well known to the community at large through its connection with some incident of Biblical, historical importance.

A definite clue to the whereabouts of Zaphon is given in Judges 12:1, which relates that the men of Ephraim assembled (in Palestine) and crossed over (the Jordan) to Zaphon. 908 There, in ill-advised effrontery, they threatened to burn down the house of Jepthah, because, forsooth, he had fought and defeated the Ammonites, after having waited in vain to receive an answer to his invitation to the Ephraimites to join him. In the preceding chapter of Judges, the story is told of how Jepthah overcame the Ammonites, and how upon his return home he was compelled in tragic fulfillment of his rash vow to sacrifice his only daughter to the deity. 900 Jepthah descended, thereafter, from his stronghold in Mizpeh in Gilead, to remonstrate with the Ephraimites, who were encamped by Zaphon, obviously near a source of water large enough for the needs of their group, and who may have been planning to ascend eastward into the hill country to confront Jepthah with their demands. 1000 Failing to allay their groundless anger, Jepthah and his men attacked the Ephraimites to forestall their possible invasion of his home base in Gilead, and inflicted a catastrophic defeat upon them. To prevent the escape of any survivors westward, back across the Jordan, Jepthah's men outflanked the Ephraimite forces and captured the fords of the Jordan.

From this account in Judges 12:1 alone, it becomes evident that Zaphon is on the e. side of the Jordan Valley, near a good supply of water, and some distance beyond the fords of the Jordan, which means it must have been located somewhere in the Ghôr part of the Jordan Valley, and, keeping Joshua 13:27 in mind, at a prominent, strategic point n. of Succoth. And, to con-

⁹⁰⁷ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. Albright, Bulletin 89, p. 16.

⁹⁹⁹ RJ, p. 104.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Judges 12: 2-6.

sider one more factor, (d), in the attempt to fix upon the location of Biblical Zaphon, it is safe to assume, judging from its importance, that it was occupied in the Bronze Age as well as in the Iron Age. 1001 As Albright points out: 1002

"The name is certainly old, since Ba'al-Ṣafôn was one of the popular Canaanite deities, so we may safely look for it in a Bronze Age tell."

A place that meets all the requirements for identification with Biblical Zaphon is the large hill-site of Tell el-Qôs (175), on the n. side of the perennial stream of the Wâdī Râjeb, near its outlet from the e. hills. It is (a) a little over 5 km. n. of Tell Deir'alla (Succoth); (b) it is situated on a prominent point, at the e. edge of the Ghôr, and serves thus as a natural landmark. It commands a splendid view over a large section of the valley, and over the course of the Wadī Rajeb westward through the Valley toward its junction with the Jordan. The Wâdī Râjeb forms the dividing line between the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh and the Ghôr el-Belawneh. 1004 (c) Tell el-Qôs is an obvious strategic center, on an important crossroads, one branch of which leads up into the hills of Gilead, where Mizpeh, the home of Jepthah, lay. The masters of Tell el-Qôs were in a position to give or withhold permission, or at least make it easy or difficult, to divert the waters of the Wâdī Râjeb for irrigation purposes, and held thus the welfare of the farmers of the district in their hands. (d) Its importance is emphasized by the fact, as demonstrated by surface finds of sherds, that it had one of the longest histories of sedentary occupation of any of the ancient sites in the Jordan Valley. The following periods were well represented: 1) Late Chalcolithic; 2) EB I-II; 3) MB I; 4) LB II; 5) Iron Age I-II; 6) Roman; 7) Byzantine. The gaps between some of the periods of pottery give a clear idea of the major depressions or gaps in the history of sedentary settlement and civilization in the Jordan Valley.1005

For all of these reasons, we feel that Tell el-Qôs is to be identified with Zaphon. It must be made plain, however, that Tell el-Qôs is not the first or only Bronze and Iron Age site n. of Tell Deir'allā. There are 5 other ancient sites of importance between these two, but none that can compare with them, or meet as fully as they do the literary, topographical, and archaeological conditions for recognition. There can be no question that between Tell Deir'allā, overlooking the Wâdī Zerqā near where it emerges from the eastern hills,

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 47; Bulletin 89, pp. 15-17.

¹⁰⁰² ANNUAL VI, pp. 45-46; Bulletin 89, p. 16, n. 52.

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. above, pp. 297-301; Bulletin 90, pp. 20-22.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cf. above, pp. 299. 350. 351.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. above, pp. 299. 300.

and Tell el-Qôs, overlooking the Wâdī Râjeb (to the n. of Wâdī Zerqā) near where it, in turn, emerges from the eastern hills, there are no other sites which can compare with them in size, prominence and importance of location, richness of pottery finds of the periods of occupation which one would expect to find, and in general agreement with the Biblical evidence concerning the histories and locations of Succoth and Zaphon. We can see no reason whatsoever for adopting the suggestion made by some scholars in the past, when all the evidence which has been adduced in the foregoing pages had not yet been secured and studied, that Biblical Zaphon and Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh (172) are to be equated. We believe, rather, as we have attempted to show above, that Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh is the only site in the Jordan Valley which can be equated with Biblical Zarethan. Other than 1007

The Talmud indirectly offers a striking confirmation of the identification of Zaphon with Tell el-Qôs through its almost correct identification of this Biblical site with Tell el-'Ammata (176).1008 Tell el-'Ammata, which was called Amathus 1009 in the Hellenistic period, is less than half a km. to the s. s. w. of Tell el-Qôs (175), and is directly on the n. side of the Wâdī Râjeb. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there, but nothing earlier. The fact that indubitable Hellenistic sherds are not found on a site where large numbers of Roman period sherds occur, and where there is reason to believe, as in this particular instance, that there was occupation in the preceding Hellenistic period, simply means that they have been covered up. We have, in general, found comparatively few Hellenistic sherds on the surface in the course of our explorations, although a sufficient number has been discovered to demonstrate their presence. 1010 Their paucity in numbers underlies the fact, that the real upswing in the development of sedentary civilization in the Jordan Valley and Transjordan first commenced again in the first century B. C., after an extended period of pronounced recession, and for a number of centuries almost complete break, commencing with the early part of the 6th century B. C. 1011

The Talmud 1012 identifies Tell el-'Ammata, under the equivalent names of

¹⁰⁰d Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 448; Noth, Das Buch Josua, p. 55; Albright, Annual VI, pp. 45-46.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cf. above, pp. 339-345.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. above, pp. 300-301; Bulletin 90, p. 23; 91, pp. 27-28; 92, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Josephus, Antiquities, XIII, 3.5; XVII, 10.6; Wars I, 4.2.3; 8, 5; Eusebius, Onomasticon 22, 24-30; cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 45; Filson, Bulletin 91, p. 27.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 241; Bulletin 92, p. 27.

¹⁰¹¹ Cf. above, p. 321, n. 869; p. 326, n. 887.

¹⁰¹² Talmud Yerushalmi, Shebi'ith IX, 2, 38 d.

Hamtan, 'Amtan, 'Amtan, 1013 with Zaphon, 1014 which is incorrect, first of all, as we have seen, because there is no Iron and Bronze Age pottery there, and because the adjacent Tell el-Qôs is the only possible site, and also because, as Albright has already pointed out, 1015 Josephus mentions a town called Asophon in this region under Alexander Jannaeus. 1016 By the time of the Talmud, the original site of Zaphon on Tell el-Qôs had long been abandoned, with probably few or no surface remains of buildings or walls to give evidence of its former existence. The historical memory concerning the important Biblical town of Zaphon obviously persisted down to and through the times of the Talmud, and gave rise to the notion that Tell el-'Ammatā was to be connected with it. That is correct in the sense that the inhabitants of Tell el-'Ammatā (Amathus) must have worked some of the lands which originally belonged to Zaphon.

The nearby town of Asophon, mentioned by Josephus, seems to have inherited, in Grecized form, the ancient name of Zaphon. The familiar practice of an ancient name leaving its original site and becoming attached to a nearby one in the Hellenistic-Roman period, 1017 is evidenced again in this instance. Filson 1018 has correctly pointed out, that, according to Josephus, Asophon 1019 and Amathus 1020 are two separate towns, with the site of Asophon apparently being comparatively nearer to the Jordan than the fortress of Amathus. Where then was Asophon?

Accepting the description of the location of the camp of Alexander Jannaeus given by Josephus as "near a certain place called Asophon, not far from the Jordan river," 1021 we suggest the possibility of its being located at Khirbet Beweib (181), 1022 about 2.25 km. w. n. w. of Tell el-Qôs. It is about a km. from the w. edge of the Ghôr, and about 2 km. e, of the Jordan River itself.

¹⁰¹³ Forrer has shown that one of the two Assyrian prefectures in Syria called "Hamat' is to be located in Transjordan, perhaps at the site of Hammat Gader (Umm Qeis). Albright suggests Amathus instead, i. e., Tell el-'Ammatā, which Forrer also admits as a possibility in this connection; cf. Albright, ANNUAL VI, pp. 45.42.43; Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches, p. 64.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cf. Klein, 'Eber hay-Yarden hay-Yehūdî, p. 12; Merrill, p. 389; Moore, p. 306.

¹⁰¹⁵ ANNUAL VI, p. 45; cf. Filson, Bulletin 91, p. 27.

¹⁰¹⁶ Antiquities XIII, 12. 5.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 349, n. 991; Albright, Annual VI, p. 45; Hoelscher, ZDPV 33, p. 19.

¹⁰¹⁸ Bulletin 91, p. 27.

¹⁰¹⁹ Antiquities XIII, 12.5.

¹⁰²⁰ Antiquities XIII, 13.3; Onomasticon 22, 24.

¹⁰²¹ Antiquities XIII, 12.5; cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 448.

¹⁰²² Cf. above, pp. 296-297.

The site of an important MB I settlement, with smaller occupations in Iron Age I-II and the Roman and Byzantine periods, to judge from the sherds found there, Khirbet Beweib may perhaps be the site to which the Grecized name of Asophon attached itself, to preserve thus for a time the ancient name of Zafon. The fact that Khirbet Beweib is situated not on a strong hilltop site such as that of Zaphon on Tell el-Qôs, but in the open plain some distance removed from the site of the parental name, is typical of similar examples of transference and slight change of an ancient name from one site (usually on a hill guarding the emergence of a perennial stream from the hills in which it rises and flows to the valley below), to another site some distance removed from it.1023 We confess not being at all certain, however, as to whether or not the site of Asophon is definitely to be located at Khirbet Beweib. We regard it as a likelihood, but cannot rule out the possibility that it may be located elsewhere in the general vicinity, perhaps at such a place as Tell el-Mazâr (178), 1024 which is less than 2 km. s. w. of Tell 'Ammata, or Tell el-Ghazala (177),1025 very close nearby.

b. BETWEEN WÂDĪ ZERQĀ AND WÂDĪ NIMRÎN

Between the Wâdī Zerqā and the Wâdī Nimrîn, for a distance of about 23 km., the e, side of the Jordan Valley was, in ancient times, and still is largely today, as empty and barren and lacking in settled towns and cities as the entire Jordan Valley (with the exception of a few points such as Jericho and Beth-shân and several others) was once imagined to be. In this area, there are very few ancient settlements indeed, owing to complete absence of perennial streams of water emerging from the e. hills and crossing the Valley and helping irrigate it before emptying into the Jordan. This is in striking contrast to the extremely fertile and well irrigated stretches of the e. side of the Jordan Valley between the Wâdī Yarmûk and the Wâdī Zergā. 1026 It was first, as we shall see, in the Roman and Byzantine periods, that the energetic peoples of those centuries established a few settlements in the generally arid waste-land of this section of the Jordan Valley by storing water in cisterns and pools, and taking advantage of every trickle of water rising to the surface from the underground water table, and exploiting with keen engineering skill the possibilities of tapping that underground water supply for limited irrigation purposes. Yet it could only have been the press of dense population in the Roman and Byzantine periods 1027 that induced some settlers to strike

¹⁰²³ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 24-26.

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. above, pp. 302-303.

¹⁰²⁵ Cf. above, pp. 303. 307.

¹⁰²⁶ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 9; above, p. 308.
¹⁰²⁷ Cf. RJ, p. 129.

their stakes in these marginal lands, which they were able to utilize because of their advanced knowledge of water engineering. The only lands in all this area between the Wâdī Zerqā and the Wâdī Nimrîn which are cultivated today, are some extensive tracts n. of the Wâdī Nimrîn, which belong to King 'Abdullah, and which are irrigated by deep artesian wells. We shall discuss this matter again later on. 1028

The fact that no historical sites of the pre-Roman period have ever been found thus far in the area between the Wâdī Zergā and the Wâdī Nimrîn, 1029 corresponds to the silence in the Bible with regard to this part of the Jordan Valley. During repeated trips through this area, we encountered no Arab encampments whatsoever, in striking contrast to the numerous ones in the area n. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, where we were always so hospitably received and from whose inhabitants we learned so much that was important about the present and past of the Jordan Valley. Tell ed-Dâmieh is the last tell, which we or others have ever found in the Jordan Valley to the s. of it, until one reaches the Wadī Nimrîn, on the n. side of which are situated such important sites as Tell el-Ghanâm (206), Tell Bleibîl (203), Tell el-Mustâh, 1030 and Tell Nimrîn (202). Tell ed-Dâmieh (Adamah) thus not only commands the road between Cisjordan and Transjordan by dominating the Jordan crossing (whose position is indicated by the remains of a Roman bridge), but also marks the beginning of the most densely settled section of the Jordan Valley in ancient times, going northward from the Wadī Zerqā (Jabbok) to the Wâdī Yarmûk. The section from Tell ed-Dâmieh southward to the Wâdī Nimrîn was for all practical purposes almost completely a howling wilderness (Fig. 106).

Dâmieh Dolmen Field (201)

About 5.5 km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200) is a very large dolmen field (201), ¹⁰³² among the bottom slopes of the hills leading up steeply from the e. side of the Ghôr ed-Dâmieh and esh-Sheqâq to the broken plateau of Gilead above. Leaving the Zôr in which Tell ed-Dâmieh is located, the road immediately to the n. of it crosses the e. part of the Zôr, ascends the qaṭṭārah hills beyond, on the top of the highest of which is the Arab Legion Dâmieh police-

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. below, pp. 357.359.

¹⁰²⁰ Abel, RB VII, 1910, pp. 547. 555; Albright, ANNUAL VI, p. 48; Hölscher, ZDPV 33, p. 21; Merrill, East of the Jordan, p. 385.

¹⁰³⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 171. 252-253. 257. ¹⁰³¹ Bulletin 91, pp. 11-13. 22-23; 97, pp. 11. 19.

¹⁰³² Dec. 21, 1942; Bulletin 91, pp. 18-20. 25; RJ, pp. 130. 131. 135-137; Stekelis, Les Monuments Mégalithiques de la Palestine, pp. 17-37. 38-52; cf. above, pp. 174. 189. 199.

post, and then crosses the Ghôr, till it joins the n.-s. track on the very e. side of the Ghôr, not far from the foothills which rise steeply to the broken plateau of Gilead above. This stretch of the Ghôr is completely uninhabited and uncultivated, and remains that way, as we have seen, practically all the way south to the Wâdī Nimrîn, for a distance of about 23 km. The extensive dolmen field lies about half a km. beyond the junction of the w.-e. road from Tell ed-Dâmieh with the n.-s. Jordan Valley road on the e. side of the Ghôr. Along the bottom slopes rising above the e. side of the Ghôr are very many large dolmens, which are more or less intact. Some of them are the single-chambered ones such as shown in Fig. 107, while others belong to the two-chambered type shown in Fig. 108. We found some of the latter type at Tell Umm el-Qețein (221) below Tell el-Mețâbi (220), above the Plains of Moab. At Tell Umm el-Qețein, as we shall see below, there were some dolmens with two chambers, separated from each other by a great stone-block partition, with a hole or a doorway cut through it.

el-Megâm (209 a)

About 9 km. to the s. s. e.-s. e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), and about an equal distance to the s. w. of the Dâmieh dolmen field (201), is a tiny Byzantine site, on the e. side of the road, called el-Meqâm (209a). Some small foundation ruins were visible, and a small quantity of Byzantine sherds was found. The site may have been a small police or caravanserai post.

Besset Khelef (209)

About 7.5 km. to the s. s. w. of el-Meqâm (209 a) is Beşşet Khelef (209), 1035 on the w. side of the modern track leading southward through the Ghôr. It is a comparatively large Byzantine settlement on a low, flat rise. Some long foundation walls are visible. Large numbers of Byzantine sherds were found. Beşşet Khelef is situated at the point where the decline in the slope of the surface of the ground from the e. to the w., starting from the base of the e. foothills, reaches the level of the underground water-table, with the result that water seeps out above surface. This water-supply made possible a certain amount of irrigation-agriculture by the energetic Byzantine inhabitants. Some of their lands were irrigated by water obtained from a system of subterranean tunnel-connected wells, called $f \hat{u} q a r \hat{u}_1^{1036}$ such as exists several km. farther s., as we shall soon see. The presence of any surface water, however limited,

¹⁰³³ Bulletin 91, pp. 18. 20; RJ, p. 131, Fig. 68.

¹⁰³⁴ Pp. 257-259.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Jan. 29, 1943; Bulletin 91, p. 9.

¹⁰³⁶ Jan. 26, 1943; Bulletin 91, pp. 9-10.

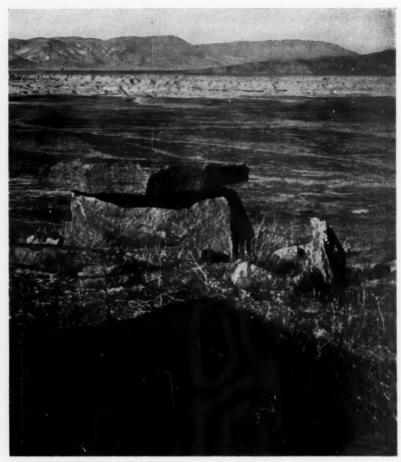


Fig. 107. A dolmen near the base of the foothills e.-e. n. e. of the position of Tell ed-Dâmieh, overlooking from the e. the Jordan Valley, with the hills of Palestine in the background.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

always leaves open the possibility that settlements earlier than the Byzantine, and indeed going back to very early historic times, may have been located at Besset Khelef. To be sure, we found no traces of them, but perhaps further



Fig. 108. A dolmen in the foothills e.-e.n.e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, with an aperture in what was originally a middle partition of a double-chambered dolmen.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

search may reveal even Early Bronze Age or Chalcolithic pottery (Fig. 109). Less than a km. to the s. s. e. of it, directly on the e. side of the modern track, is one of the pumping stations erected by King Abdullah's engineers, to pump water from his artesian wells into some of his adjacent lands. Wonderful crops will grow even in the Wâdī Jabbok–Wâdī Nimrîn section of the Jordan Valley, if the land is irrigated.

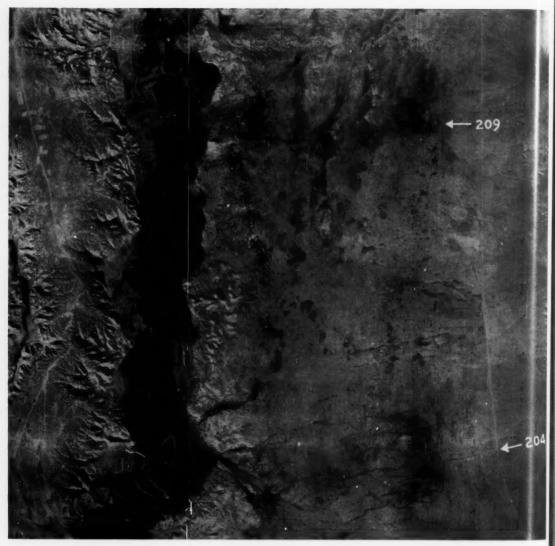


Fig. 109. A line of fúqarā (204), visible in lower right hand corner. Water from the tunnel-connected wells of the fúqarā is led into a complex of channels to irrigate an extensive stretch of land. In the upper right part of phot., arrow points to the Byzantine site of Besset Khelef (209).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

Fúqarā (204)

About 3.25 km, to the s.-s. s. e, of Besset Khelef, and about 6 km, to the n, w.-w. n, w. of the modern Arabic village of Shûneh on the s. side of the Wâdī Nimrîm, the engineers of King Abdullah have restored an interesting, ancient water system, which probably goes back to the Roman period, and was probably utilized throughout the Byzantine period also. Elsewhere in King Abdullah's private lands, which extend from the Wâdī Nimrîn to beyond Besset Khelef (209), artesian wells have been sunk to supply water for irrigation. This southern Jordan Valley fúgarā water supply system was first rediscovered in recent years. A long line of pits was noticed, leading e. n. e.w. s. w. from near the base of the e. foothills to the middle of the Ghôr. At the very bottom of the gentle slope in between, a small stream of water emerged. King Abdullah's engineers opened up these pits, and found that they were in reality deep, vertical shafts, filled with debris. When they were cleared, it was discovered that they all led into an underground water tunnel. It had a slight east-west downward slope, although considerably less than that of the slope of the surface above, so that ultimately the two gradients were bound to meet. We counted eighteen shafts which had been opened up, each of them about 3 meters in diameter and about 10 m. apart. Each shaft, which separately taps the water table, is connected to the one w. of it by the tunnel, which is about 2 m. high and 1 m. wide. The shafts are to the tunnel, like spaced pendants to a necklace, held upside down. Each shaft taps a certain amount of water from the water-bearing earth at the level of the water-table which it pierces, and releases thus a certain amount of water into the tunnel. All that is necessary to do, once the initial shafts and tunnel have been dug, is to keep them clear of debris. The shafts become progressively shorter, till finally they disappear. The underground tunnel is changed then into an open channel through which the stream of water flows into a system of irrigation ditches.1037 Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found along the line of these fugarā.

This $f\acute{u}qar\bar{u}$ system of obtaining underground water is employed elsewhere in Transjordan, at such places as Udhruh 1038 and Ma'ân, as we have been informed by Sir Alec S. Kirkbride, British Minister to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Thinking back, we now believe that the long line of circular pits at Ḥafrîyat Ghaḍyân in the Wâdī el-'Arabah, is to be explained as belonging to the above-mentioned $f\acute{u}qar\bar{a}$ system. 1039 Sir Alec has seen such a system

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 9-10.
1088 ANNUAL XV, p. 76.

¹⁰³⁹ Annual XV, p. 40; our measurements of 5 to 15 m. ingdiameter for the circular pits at Ḥafrîyat Ghadyân in the Wâdī el-'Arabah, were, as Albright, Bulletin 91, p. 9,

functioning at a place called Jerîd, on the Damascus-Palmyra road. It now becomes apparent that this fúqarā system of obtaining underground water-supplies was used throughout the ancient Near East, 1040 and certainly as early as the 2nd century B. C. 1041 (Fig. 109).

An examination of the $Z\hat{o}r$ to the w. and below the section of the Ghôr in which the above-mentioned $f\hat{u}qar\bar{a}$ system is located, revealed no ancient settlements. Several likely looking sections of the $Z\hat{o}r$ between ed-Dâmieh and the Wâdī Nimrîm were visited by our expedition, but no traces of ancient settle-

n. 5, has correctly pointed out, extended to the heaps of earth around them, rather than to the mouths of the pits proper. We did not at the time understand completely what the pits were for, although we did say that they may have served the purpose of tapping underground water.

1040 Cornwall, in Ancient Arabia: Explorations in Hasa, The Geographical Journal, CVII: 1.2, Jan.-Feb. 1946, writes with regard to the Qatif area: "But the most curious sight is the long line of old wells. The water in them is artesian and warm (84°), and flows eastward in subterranean tunnels, from which cylindrical shafts rise at intervals, piercing the dunes. In some cases, only the very top of the shaft appears above the sand; but elsewhere the dunes have passed by, leaving the masonry columns towering awkwardly behind." Crowfoot, in Antiquity 80, Dec. 1946, pp. 219-220, refers to Mouterde and Poidebard: Le Limes de Chalcis: organization de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine, pp. 109-126: "In the s. e. of our area, nearly halfway on a road between Palmyra and Resapha, some extensive irrigation works have been studied by M. Mazloum. The name of the site is Qdeym, the ancient Acadama. The largest of the works are fogura some 9 km, long, one of these subterranean galleries with inspection shafts at close intervals which are common from Turkistan to Morocco. At Qdeym about 200 of these shafts have been found, all trace of the rest having been washed away by surface inundation: at the head of the canal the shaft is nearly 20 m. deep and the gradient averages about 5 m. in the kilometre. The gallery was mainly tunnelled through a bed of chalk and measured 1.60 by 0.80 m., but when it entered the alluvium near its exit into the open the sides were riveted with masonry and the dimensions reduced to 0.90 by 0.60 m. A fine tank or reservoir 62 m. square . . . received the water from the canal and discharged it through sluices . . . the flow of water would be enough . . . to irrigate 250 hectares, and there must be a network of regulators and secondary canals buried under the surface. . . . Qdeym was plainly an oasis of the same type (as Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi) . . . few will hesitate to assign this work also to one of the Umayyad princes." Cf. Bowen, Bulletin: Supplementary Studies 7-9, pp. 35-41.53.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cf. Albright, FSAC, pp. 73-74; Bulletin 91, p. 10, n. 5, where he writes: "That they (fuqarā) go back to Roman times is archaeologically certain; see Thoumin, Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale (Tours, 1936), pp. 42 ff., and Seyrig, Syria, 1934, 28... Polybius (second century B. C.) describes them as common in the Parthian Empire in his day, and says that they were already old (X, 28). Since there is neither documentary nor archaeological indication that the underground tunnel-wells were known in the ancient Near East, it seems quite possible that they were developed in pre-Achaemenid Persia and spread to the Near East in Achaemenian times . . . "; cf. Fisher, Geographical Review, XVIII (1928), pp. 302 ff.; Starr, Bulletin 58, p. 27.

ment were discovered. That there seemed to be none in this area is probably due to the fact that the various enclaves between the river and the qaṭṭârah hills to the e. of them were not large enough to warrant agricultural usage, comparable to the sections of the Zôr n. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, occupied by such sites as Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh (174) and Tell Abū esh-Shart (174 a). 1042

Tulûl el-Beidā (208 a)

Two and a half km. s. e.-e. s. e. of the tunnel-connected wells of the fúqarā water system (204) are the Tulûl el-Beiḍā (208a). They consist of a series of small, low, natural, marl rises, which look like whitish pimples on the face of the plain. On those nearest the modern track are stone circles, which may well be ancient burials.¹⁰⁴⁸ We came across some others like them at various points between this group and Tell ed-Dâmieh (200). There were no pottery fragments by any of them. They are located on the n. e. edge of the fertile fields on the n. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn (whose w. stretch is known as the Wâdī Shûneh), which are irrigated by waters drawn from the Wâdī Nimrîn (Fig. 110).

Tell Meshra'a el-'Abyad (208)

About three quarters of a km. to the s. of the westernmost of the Tulûl el-Beiḍā (208 a) is Tell Meshra'a el-'Abyaḍ (208). It consists of some foundation ruins on a small rise, with Byzantine sherds among and around the ruins. It is in the irrigated area n. of the Wâdī Nimrîn.

Tell Ghanâm (206)

About 2 km. to the s. w. of Tell Meshra'a el-'Abyaḍ (208), and about 3.5 km. w. s. w. of the village of Shûneh, is Tell Ghanâm. 1044 It is centered about a very slight rise, marked by some modern graves, and is directly above the n. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn (Wâdī Shûneh). Its lands are part of the broadened Ghôr of the e. side of the Jordan. To the e. s. e. of it, on the s. side of the Wâdī Shûneh, about 1.5 km. away, is the Arab Legion police-post of Shûneh. The bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ below Tell Ghanâm is fairly broad, and is cultivated in in places, being irrigated by the strong flow of the 'Ain Mâjib, which rises on the n. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ bed. 'Ain Mâjib is named after the former paramount sheikh of the 'Adwân tribe. This spring really represents the reappearance of the perennial stream of the Wâdī Nimrîn, which goes underground some dis-

¹⁰⁴² Cf. above, pp. 284. 285.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. Stekelis, Les Monuments Mégalithiques de la Palestine, pp. 40-44; Abel, RB 1910, p. 546.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. TG I, p. 150.

tance before reaching the point approximately below the center of the Tell Ghanâm area above it. It flows strongly and irrigates the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed for some distance, before disappearing again into the sands of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed, only to reappear again some distance farther on (Fig. 110).

Numerous sherds and flints were found in a fairly extensive area around the grave-marked rise of Tell Ghanâm, which belonged to the Middle Chalcolithic period, and were contemporary with Teleilât Ghassûl in the Plains of Moab, a few km. to the s. A few Byzantine and some fairly modern Arabic sherds, as well as some Hellenistic fragments of pottery were found also. The Chalcolithic sherds, however, predominated (cf. Pottery Notes, p. 489). Not all of the types of pottery discovered at Teleilât Ghassûl were found among the surface fragments at Tell Ghanâm, but it is reasonable to assume that they would be revealed if excavations were undertaken there.

Tell el-Gharbeh (207)

About 2.5 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Tell Ghanâm (206) is Tell el-Gharbeh (207), on a high knoll, immediately overlooking the n. side of the Wâdī Shûneh (Wâdī Nimrîn). The $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed is broad and partly cultivated, being irrigated by the stream which has reappeared, and been canalized on the n. side of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed. The banks of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ are fairly steep at this point, and there is no cultivation whatsoever on the plain above. The s. side of the knoll of Tell el-Gharbeh juts above the plain like a watchtower. There is an excellent view from it over the Ghôr s. to the Dead Sea, w. to the Jordan, and n. up the Jordan Valley. Qarn Şarṭabeh is visible from it, as it is also from Tell Ghanâm. There were no ruins whatsoever visible on this completely natural knoll, but Roman and Byzantine sherds were found there in large enough numbers to give evidence of permanent settlement, and not to be dismissed merely as being insignificant fragments of these ubiquitous wares which can be found almost everywhere in the Jordan Valley and Transjordan.

el-Kherse'ah (205)

About 2.5 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of Tell Ghanâm (206) is el-Kherse'ah (205), on the s. side of the Wâdī Shûneh (Wâdī Nimrîn). The modern village of Shûneh is about 1.5 km. to the n. e. of it. It consists of an approximately 40 m. square ruined $kh\hat{a}n$, with remains of foundations of rooms built against the inner sides of its enclosing wall. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, mediaeval, and modern Arabic sherds were found in and around the ruins. The actual date of the visible foundations may be no earlier than mediaeval Arabic, and perhaps even later.

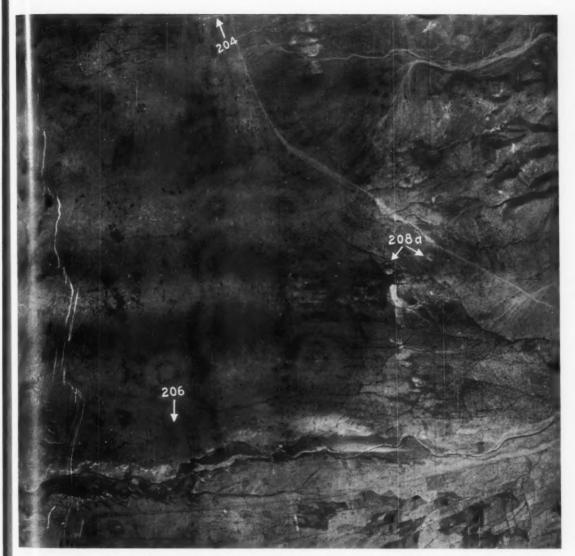


Fig. 110. Tell Ghanâm (206), on n. side of Wâdī Shûneh (Wâdī Nimrîn). The Tulûl el-Beiḍā (208 a) are in right center; at top is line of dots marking tunnel-connected shafts of a fáqarā water-system (204).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

c. 'ARBÔTH MÔ'AB

The lands immediately n., and particularly those stretching s. of the Wâdī Nimrîn, which in its w. part, as far e. as the village of Shûneh, is known as the Wâdī Shûneh, are fertile and exceedingly productive when irrigated, as they are in part today and were extensively from earliest historical times onward. The 'Arbôth Mô'áb, the Plains of Moab, as they are called in the Bible, stretch from the Wâdī Nimrîn southward to the n. e. end of the Dead Sea. Much Biblical history transpired in this rich and comparatively well watered section of the e. side of the Jordan, and it figures fortunately in the Biblical story. The lowland area between the Wâdī Nimrîn and the Dead Sea differs radically from that between the Wâdī Nimrîn and the Wâdī Jabbok, through the presence in the former of a number of important streams. Numbers 33:48-49 read:

"And they camped in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb by the Jericho section of the Jordan, pitching their tents along the (southernmost stretch of the e. side of the) Jordan (Valley) from Beth hay-Yešīmöth to Abel haš-Šiṭṭim, in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb."

The 'Arbôth Mô'ab, the Plains of Moab, have something of the shape of a truncated harp, the n. side being formed by the Wadī Nimrîn, the e. by the curving line of hills, and the s. by the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh close to the n. e. end of the Dead Sea. This area is watered by a number of perennial streams emerging from the eastern hills, which flow in fairly shallow beds westward across the plains to the Jordan. The three main streams, from n. to s., are the Wâdī Nimrîn, known as the Wâdī Sha'ib until it emerges from the hills, the Wâdī el-Kefrein, and the Wâdī er-Râmeh, known in the hills as the Wâdī Ḥesbân. Two thirds of the way across the plain, the Wâdī el-Kefrein joins the Wâdī er-Râmeh. Farther s., is the dry Wâdī Ejrafeh, which carries water only in the winter and spring spates, and then to the s. of it the dry Wâdī et-Terfeh. To the s. of it, is the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, which, before it emerges from the e, hills is known as the Wâdī el-Herī. South of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, the eastern foothills crowd in towards the n. e. end of the Dead Sea, effectively closing off the Plains of Moab. There is neither as much cultivable land nor as much water for irrigating it in the plains of the 'Arbôth Mô'áb 1045 as in the Jordan Valley n. of the Wâdī Zergā (River Jabbok), but the cities of the Plains of Moab were fully as early, important, and productive of civilized activities and historical phenomena as any in the central and northern reaches of the Jordan Valley.

1045 Cf. Num. 22: 1; 31: 12; 33: 48; 36: 13; RB XL, 1931, pp. 223-226.

Tell Nimrîn (202)

Along both sides of the Wadī Nimrîn, which forms the n. boundary of the Plains of Moab, are some ancient sites, several of which we have already considered, the most important of them being Tell Ghanâm (206). About 3.75 km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell Ghanâm (206) and about half a km. e. n. e. of the village of Shûneh is the large mound of Tell Nimrîn (202), on the s. side of the Wadī Nimrîn, near the e, end of the n. side of the Plains of Moab. Tell Nimrîn 1046 undoubtedly preserves the ancient Biblical name of Bethnimrah, 1047 and the waters of the Wadī Nimrîn may be referred to in the Bible as the "Waters of Nimrim." 1048 Tell Nimrîn is situated on an isolated, natural mound, serving as an advance outpost of the hills to the e. of it, which rise to the Moabite plateau. From the top of Tell Nimrîn, the n. e. end of the Dead Sea is visible. To the e.-e. n. e. is Tell el-Mustâh, 1049 not visible from it, however, because of a projecting outspur of the e. hills. A considerable number of caves can be seen in the hillsides e. of the plain of Nimrîn, and on the n. side of the hills paralleling that part of the road extending between Tell Nimrîn and Tell el-Mustâh. There are also some dolmens among the slopes of the hills leading down to the plains of Tell Nimrîn and Tell el-Mustâh. Immediately w. of Tell Nimrîn, and extending for several km. s. of the Wâdī Nimrîn, can be seen a green belt of irrigated lands, which is paralleled by a similar but less extensive stretch of irrigated lands on the n. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn.

A modern automobile road has been cut through the n. side of the large mound of Tell Nimrîn, revealing ancient walls, lines of ash and burning, and numerous fragments of pottery. A modern Arabic cemetery covers most of the top of the mound. Large numbers of Roman through mediaeval Arabic

 $^{^{1040}}$ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 11; Conder, SEP I, pp. 237-238; Merrill, East of the Jordan, pp. 384-386; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 278; RB XL, 1931, pp. 214-215.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Num. 32: 36; Joshua 13: 27.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Isa. 15: 6; Jer. 48: 34. The "Waters of Nimrim," mentioned in these two verses, has been identified with the Seil en-Numeirah by Abel, Géographie . . . I, p. 178; II, p. 399, and Albright, Bulletin 91, p. 11, n. 9. If that location is correct, the "Waters of Nimrim" would be located on the s. e. shore of the Dead Sea, and be connected with the story of the destruction of Sodom and its sister-cities; cf. Glueck, Annual XV, pp. 7.8. The possibility remains, nevertheless, it seems to us, as evidenced particularly by Jer. 48: 34, that the "Waters of Nimrim" should be identified with the Wâdī Nimrîn, forming the n. boundary of the, "Plains of Moab," rather than with the Seil en-Numeirah, a comparatively tiny wâdī, terminating at the e. side of the Dead Sea near its southern end.

¹⁰⁴⁰ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 171. 252-253. 257. 264.

sherds were found, and not a single one from any pre-Roman period. 1050 Obviously, therefore, Tell Nimrîn cannot be identified with the Biblical Bethnimrah, however attractive the name associations may be. It is yet another example of the wandering of names of Biblical sites from their original homes to new settlements, after the former were destroyed or abandoned for one reason or another. The old names, kept alive by vivid historical memory, became attached centuries later to new sites established somewhere in the vicinity of the home stations. This is a process which occurred often from the Hellenistic period on, and was accelerated as a result of the generally peaceful and prosperous conditions which prevailed with the spread of the power of the Roman empire. Tell Nimrîn is the site referred to by Eusebius as being five Roman miles n. of Livias, 1052—which is approximately correct. Livias is generally and correctly identified with Tell er-Râmeh, as we shall see below (Fig. 111).

Khirbet Nimrîn (202 a)

About three quarters of a km. e, of Tell Nimrîn, the road again cuts through a low mound, revealing building remains and ash levels on both sides of the cutting. We are arbitrarily naming the mound, Khirbet Nimrîn (202a). The n. slope of this low mound descends quite abruptly to the Wâdī Nimrîn. Its s. side is close to the hills, whose slopes are pockmarked with numerous caves. The sherds found on the site are predominantly mediaeval Arabic. Several excellent flints of the Middle Chalcolithic period were found on the hillsides above this site.

Tell el-Mustâh (203 a)

Continuing e. along the road on the s. side of the Wâdī Nimrîn, one comes, about 1.7 km. e. n. e. of Tell Nimrîn (202), to the important site of Tell el-Mustâḥ (203 a). 1058 It is a large, sharply defined, flattish-topped, truncated, wedge-shaped tell, tapering from the s. e.-e. s. e. to the n. w.-w. n. w. It dominates the confluence of the Wâdī Jarî'ah with the Wâdī Sha'îb. The Wâdī Jarî'ah is a dry $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, which bounds Tell el-Mustâh on its e. s. e. to w. sides.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 48; Abel, RB VII, 1910, pp. 543-545; XL, 1931, pp. 214-215; Géographie . . . II, p. 278; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, pp. 94-98; TG I, p. 150.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. above, p. 349, n. 991.

¹⁰⁵³ Onomasticon, pp. 44: 16-18; 45: 21-23; 48: 16-17; 49: 14.

¹⁰⁵³ ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, pp. 171, 252-253. 257. 264; Bulletin 91, pp. 11-12; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, pp. 94. 96-98; TG I, p. 150; Neuville, JPOS X, 1930, pp. 193-199; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 215; Géographie . . . I, p. 175; II, p. 278.



Fig. 111. Tell Nimrîn (202) and Tell el-Mustâh (203 a) on the s. side of the Wâdl Nimrîn, with Tell Bleibil (203), opposite Tell el-Mustâh, on the n. side.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

On its n, side is the Wadī Sha'ab. It is known by that name in its course through the e. hills, which level down rapidly to meet the valley, just at the point dominated by Tell el-Mustâh. Farther w. then, from Tell el-Mustâh to just beyond Tell Nimrîn, the Wâdī Sha'îb becomes known as the Wâdī Nimrîn, and still farther w., for the rest of its course till it joins the Jordan, it becomes known as the Wâdī Shûneh. A considerable portion of the waters of the Wâdī Nimrîn are drawn off into irrigation ditches to the n. and s. of it. Tell el-Mustâh occupies an exceedingly important strategic position, controlling the entrance to the hills of Gilead immediately to the e. of it, or to the plain of Nimrîn immediately to the w. of it, and the perennial waters of the Wâdī Nimrîn (Wâdī Sha'îb), which irrigate the rich fields on both sides of its course. We have reported previously on the site and date of occupation of Tell el-Mustâh, which is to be assigned exclusively to EBI. The modern road has cut a broad and revealing swath through the main part of this tell, showing house-foundations and burnings and large quantities of EBI pottery and some EB I flints (Fig. 111).

Tell Bleibil (203)

Immediately across the Wadī Sha'îb from Tell el-Mustah (203 a), less than a quarter of a km. to the n. e.-n. n. e. of it, standing on the last high terrace of the e. hills facing the plain below it to the w., is Tell Bleibil (203).1054 Located on top of a fairly high, isolated hill, it completely dominates the approaches to and from the Jordan Valley and the highlands to the e. Its strategic position and importance completely parallel those of Tell el-Mustâh. There seem to be ancient terraces on the steep s. side of the hill on which the tell is located. The most accessible side is the n. e. one. Tiny, dry wadis curve around the w., n., and e. sides of the site, whose entire s. side faces and overlooks the Wâdī Sha'îb. The fairly flat, rectangular hilltop of Tell Bleibil, on which no building remains are visible today, is oriented n.e. by s.w., and measures approximately 110 by 40 m. From the air, it looks as if it had once been surrounded by an outer fortification wall. On the top and slopes of the tell, numerous sherds were found, practically all of which belong to Iron Age I-II, with the exception of a small number of Roman and Byzantine fragments. This had been ascertained previously by Albright and others, who are undoubtedly correct in identifying Tell Bleibil with Biblical Beth-nimrah. 1055

¹⁰⁵⁴ Jan. 26, 1943; Bulletin 91, p. 12. For a phot. of Tell Bleibil, cf. Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 214, Pl. VI: 1.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Albright, Annual VI, p. 48; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, p. 96; TG I, p. 150; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 215; Géographie . . . II, p. 278.

We found no Bronze Age sherds whatsoever on this site. 1056 As Albright points out, "the site was changed in the Greek period to a more convenient one lower down and so more easily accessible." 1057 The name Nimrah, already changed to Nimrîn or Nimrî in Talmudic literature, 1058 did not wander very far. From Tell Bleibil to Tell Nimrîn, to the w. s. w.-s. w. of it, where the Biblical name found new lodging, is a distance of just a little over a kilometer and a half.

The three sites of Tell el-Musṭâḥ, Tell Bleibil, and Tell Nimrîn, in that order of historical occupancy, can for all practical purposes be considered as one historical site, occupied in three widely separated periods,—namely, EB I, Iron Age I-II, and the long span extending through the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic times. It will be noticed that these periods of sedentary, civilized occupation correspond in the main (with the exception of a well documented MB I period, and occupancy of lesser intensity in the MB II and LB II periods in some sites) to the periods of intensive settlement, followed by periods of diminution or almost complete disappearance of sedentary settlements (aside from a few particularly strong points), such as have been discovered in the thickly settled part of the Jordan Valley, extending from the Wâdī Yarmûk to the confluence of the Wâdī Zerqā with the Jordan ¹⁰⁵⁹ (Fig. 111).

Tell el-Kefrein (210)

About 6.25 km. s. e.-s. s. e. of Tell Nimrîn (202) and 7 km. s. of Tell Bleibil (203) is Tell el-Kefrein (210) 1060 (Fig. 112), overlooking from the n., and from some distance away, the strong, perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. To the e., the preceding stretch of this $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ is known as the Wâdī el-Meqṭa'ah. The waters of the Wâdī el-Kefrein are employed to irrigate a considerable stretch of land.

Tell el-Kefrein is located on a completely isolated, rocky hill, which juts like a tall cone, approximately 35 m. high above the surrounding plain. It commands a splendid view over the Plains of Moab. The lands immediately w. and s. of Tell el-Kefrein are intensively cultivated. The hill of Tell el-

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 215.

¹⁰⁵⁷ ANNUAL VI, p. 49.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf. Klein, 'Eber hay-Yarden hay-Yehudî, p. 13.

¹⁰⁵⁹ It is interesting to note in this connection, that in the independent survey of the Beisân section of the w. side of the Jordan Valley by Bergman and Brandstetter, BJPES VIII, 1941, pp. 83-90, the results achieved correspond exactly with those obtained by our archaeological survey on the e. side of the Jordan Valley.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Jan. 27, 1943; Bulletin 91, pp. 13-15.

Kefrein is almost completely natural. Ribs of rock jut out of the w. side near its base. Among them are numerous rock-cut tombs, most of which have been

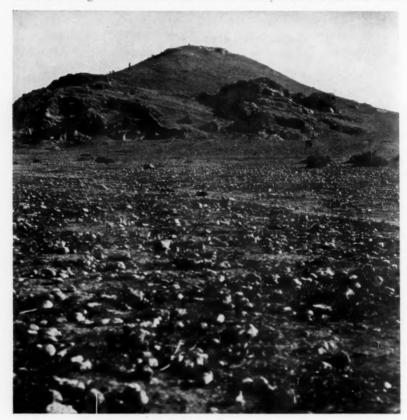


Fig. 112. Tell el-Kefrein (210), looking e.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

largely destroyed.¹⁰⁶¹ There are similar remnants of tombs and some caves on the e. side. The rather small top of the hill, which is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., and measures about 15 by 24 m.,¹⁰⁶² is used today as an Arab cemetery.

¹⁰⁶¹ For measurements of some of these tombs, cf. Conder, SEP I, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 150; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 216.

On the slopes and top of the hill were found numerous Iron Age I-II sherds, and nothing earlier, as Mallon had already recognized. There were, however, some sherds belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Among the Iron Age sherds was one fragment of a large, thick, shallow bowl, with concave



Fig. 113. Tell er-Râmeh (214), looking w.n.w.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

disc base and deep, wide groove on the outer surface below the rim. 1064 The inner surface was fire blackened, and several pieces of iron had become fused to it as the result of the intensity of a conflagration it underwent. A mending hole is visible in this fragment. 1065

¹⁰⁶³ Biblica X, 1929, p. 223; cf. Abel, RB XL, p. 216; Géographie . . . II, p. 234.

1044 Cf. Megiddo I, Pl. 24: 42; 26: 75; 30: 114. 129.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Another sherd, Pl. 81: 1, found there, is the end of a sharp-pointed jug, probably belonging to the end of Iron Age II; cf. 4in Shems IV, Pl. XLVIII: 1; LXVIII: 10.

In the plain immediately to the w.s.w. of Tell el-Kefrein, several worn sherds were found, which could have belonged to the Middle Chalcolithic period. It may be that the small, modern village of el-Kefrein, located several hundred meters to the s.w., by the side of the canalized stream of the Wâdī el-Kefrein which has been diverted from its wâdī-bed, was built over the original Chalcolithic site. A search between its houses and among its refuse-piles revealed nothing earlier, however, than sherds of Roman date, in addition to Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. We are confident, nevertheless, that either there or elsewhere in the immediate vicinity, a Chalcolithic settlement must have been located, and very probably also one of the Early Bronze Age.

The small Iron Age I-II fortress of Tell el-Kefrein on its high vantage point, occupied an excellent strategic position. It helped guard an important track to the hills e. of it, and control the rich lands below it. The lands of the Wâdī er-Râmeh (Wâdī Ḥesbân) are also visible from it (Fig. 114). It was one of a series of Iron Age I-II fortresses, which, as we shall see, embellished and protected the e. side of the Plains of Moab at strategic points marking the dividing line between the hills and the Plains. Tell el-Kefrein has generally been identified with the Biblical site of Abel haš-Šitţīm, mentioned in Numbers 33:49.1066 The writer believes that this identification is incorrect, and Tell el-Kefrein was merely a well-located, small police-post and fortified village on the road to the much larger, stronger, and even more strategically located original site of Abel haš-Šittīm.

It is well at this point to review the fundamental prerequisites which must be fulfilled before an identification of an antiquity site with a Biblical site can be ventured with a reasonable degree of certainty. It is necessary (a) to know the location of all the ancient sites, certainly all the important ones, in what has first to be determined to be the proper district in which the specific Biblical sites being sought would have been located; (b) to examine carefully and competently the sherds found on these sites, and determine whether or not they correspond in date with the periods of occupation referred to in literary accounts, or which can be deduced from such accounts; (c) to determine whether or not the site being considered conforms with the reasons usually inducing Biblical writers to mention any particular place. It must always be borne in mind that they were not interested in compiling an onomasticon, but in writing a religious history, for which they used geographical and historical and other materials. They were concerned with a specific city such as Jericho or Jabesh-gilead or Succoth, or a particular area such as the

¹⁰⁶⁶ Bulletin 91, p. 13; Mallon, Biblica X, pp. 223-224; TG I, p. 150; Albright, Annual VI, p. 49; Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 234.

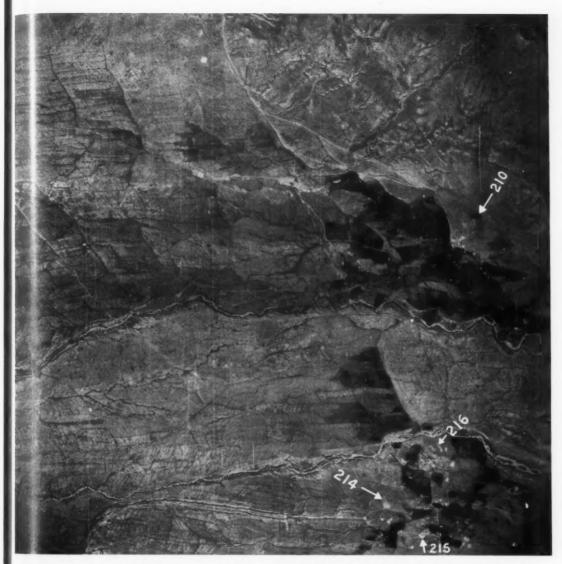


Fig. 114. Tell el-Kefrein (210), about a kilometer n. of Wâdî el-Kefrein, which joins the Wâdî er-Râmeh below it. S. of Wâdî er-Râmeh is Tell esh-Shaghûr (216). To the s. w. of it is Tell er-Râmeh (214), below which to the s. e. is el-Mazâr (215).

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

'Arbôth Môth's, because of certain happenings and the doings and utterances of certain personalities, which fitted into the scheme of their theological point-of-view. They presented men and events in accord with their understanding of the workings and will of God. Within this framework, then, the Biblical writers mentioned particular places because 1) of specific happenings there, 2) the places were of outstanding commercial, or strategic, or general historical importance, and were more or less known to their readers, 3) they marked the limits or were the outstanding sites in a distinctive area, forming a more or less self-contained geographical unit, such as, for instance, the Plains of Moab.

Khirbet el-Kefrein (210 a)

Before taking up the discussion of which site then is to be identified with Abel haš-Šiţţîm, and indeed as a preliminary step to it, we shall discuss the site of Khirbet el-Kefrein (210 a), directly on the n. side of the canalized stream of the Wâdī el-Kefrein, and 1.2 km. w. s. w.-s. w. of Tell el-Kefrein (210). Khirbet el-Kefrein is a large, completely destroyed site, on a very low, broad rise, just slightly above the neighboring fields. In its greatest dimensions, it is oriented e.-w., and measures about 500 by 200 m. 1067 Part of its n, side is used for a modern Arabic cemetery. The area is packed with large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The site was obviously quite important in these periods, but is completely uninhabited today. There were several unoccupied, modern, mud-brick structures on it at the time of our visit. 1068 The writer is in essential agreement with those scholars who identify Khirbet el-Kefrein with the Abila of the Roman period located in this region. To be sure, the possibility must be considered that the present village of el-Kefrein, several hundred m. to the s. w. of the base of Tell el-Kefrein, may be the site of Abila. In either event, one of these places could be considered a suburb or a satellite of the other. The comparatively small stretch of land between the two is given over today to banana cultivation.

The history of the Abila in the area of the Plains of Moab is linked with that of Livias. Josephus reports ¹⁰⁶⁹ that Nero gave Abila and Julias (Livias) to Agrippa, and that Placidus ¹⁰⁷⁰ "took Abila and Julias and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis." It will be seen that these three places are in a line extending from the n. to the s., and are to be identi-

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cf. Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, p. 223; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 216; Conder, SEP I, p. 149.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Jan. 27, 1943; cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 15-17.

¹⁰⁰⁰ BJ II, 13.2.

¹⁰⁷⁰ BJ IV, 7.6.

fied, respectively, with Khirbet el-Kefrein (210 a), as has already been done in the case of Abila, and with Tell er-Râmeh (214) and Khirbet es-Sweimeh (222). Josephus tells his readers furthermore, 1071 that from Abila to the Jordan was a march of about 60 stadia,—which would be approximately the distance from Khirbet el-Kefrein to the Jordan. The position of Abila is still further fixed by the fact that in his commentary to Joel 3:18, Jerome says that Livias (Julias) is 6 miles from the Dead Sea, 1072—which is also approximately correct.

Abila undoubtedly represents the latter-day reflection and transfer to a new site of the name of Abel haš-Šitţîm from its original site, some distance away, — which we do not believe to have been Tell el-Kefrein. Such transferences were frequently made, as we have seen above, for instance, in the case of the relationship of Roman and later Tell Nimrîn (202) to the Iron Age I-II site of Tell Bleibil (203), which is to be identified with the Biblical Beth-nimrah. After a gap of almost 5 centuries, the name of Beth-nimrah, uprooted by the destruction and abandonment of its home site, became attached to a newly established site some distance away in slightly different form, and has maintained that connection to this very day, as witnessed by the name of Tell Nimrîn. It was exactly in this fashion that the name of Abel haš-Šitţîm flitted about like a lost spirit, after the destruction of its native site in the early 6th century B. C., till, in the somewhat changed and shortened form of Abila, it was taken over, centuries later, in the Hellenistic-Roman period by a new settlement some distance removed from the place of its original attachment.

The process of employing an abbreviated name for a full one was not unfamiliar even in Biblical times. Thus, for instance, the name of $Abel\ has-\check{S}itt\hat{l}im$ appears in the pages of the Bible in the shortened form of $\check{S}itt\hat{l}im.^{1074}$ In a much later period, as we have just seen, it was changed to Abila, the equivalent of Abel, with the abbreviation reverting to the first instead of to the last part of the compound name. A corresponding series of changes and abbreviations seems to have taken place in the case of the name of $Abel-meh\hat{o}lah$, which we have identified with Tell el-Maqlûb, overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis. 1075 It will be recalled that Abel-mehôlah was not only the home of

¹⁰⁷¹ Antiquities V, 1.1; cf. IV, 8.1.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. Abel, RB VII, 1910, p. 543, n. 1; Eusebius, Onomasticon, pp. 10: 28; 11: 27.
¹⁰⁷³ Cf. above, p. 371.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Num. 25: 1; Joshua 2: 1; 3: 1; Micah. 6: 5. Another example is that of Abel Beth-ma'akhah (II Sam. 20: 14-15; I Kings 15: 20; II Kings 15: 29), which in one instance is referred to as Abel-mayim (II Chron. 16: 4; cf. Josephus, Antiquities VIII, 12. 4).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. above, pp. 212-217. 220-223.

Elisha, but was probably the home of 'Adrî'ēl, the son of Barzillai, the Meholathite. 1076 It is generally agreed that the Mehôlah used in this connection in adjectival form, is the abbreviated form of the full name of Abelmehôlah. 1077 In a later period, long after the destruction of Abelmehôlah (or Mehôlah), the first part of this compound name became attached to a nearby site, which was first established in the Hellenistic-Roman period and intensively occupied from then on through the mediaeval Arabic period. 1078 And the Abel part of the name has persisted to this very day with very slight change in the form of the name of the modern village of Kefr 'Abîl, built over the Hellenistic-Roman to mediaeval Arabic site.

We have already referred above to Albright's happy explanation of abel as "brook, running water." ¹⁰⁷⁹ Thus we would translate Abel-meḥôlah as the Dancing Place by a Running Stream, and identify that stream with the Wâdī el-Yâbis. By the same token, we would translate Abel haš-Šitţîm as the Acacia Woods by a Running Stream, and identify this stream with the Wâdī el-Kefrein.

Tell el-Hammâm (212)

The consensus of scholarly opinion, hitherto, has been that Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm is to be identified with Tell el-Kefrein (210). While that remains within the realm of possibility, we feel that there are conclusive reasons for identifying Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm rather with the imposing site of Tell el-Ḥammâm (212), which is also known as Tell el-Ḥammeh es-Samrī. It is situated about 2.3 km. e. s. e. s. e. of Tell el-Kefrein, on a long, high, completely isolated hill, on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Meqta'a, as the e. extension of the Wâdī el-Kefrein is known from the point of its issuing forth from the e. hills till it reaches a point approximately opposite the position of Tell el-Kefrein. Tell el-Kefrein is about a km. removed from the actual $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ -bed. Between Tell el-Ḥammâm and the Wâdī el-Meqta'a is a hot spring, called 'Ain el-Ḥammâm, which we

¹⁰⁷⁶ I Sam. 18: 19; II Sam. 21: 8.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cheyne, Encyclopaedia Biblica, under Abel-meḥôlah; Caspari, Kommentar z. A. T., p. 646, n. 5; Kennedy, I and II Samuel, p. 233, n. 19; Smith, H. P., Samuel, p. 172; Nowack, Richter, Ruth, u. Bücher Samuelis, p. 238, among others. In this connection, it is important not to confuse Barzillai, the father of 'Adri'el, the Meholathite, with Barzillai the Gileadite from Rögelim, who was one of those who welcomed David and his followers to Mahanaim, when they fled there during the Absalom rebellion (II Sam. 17: 27; cf. II Sam. 19: 32-40).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 16; above, pp. 222-223.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Pp. 220-221.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. above, p. 374, n. 1066.

were not able to visit. There are, apparently, some Roman-Byzantine ruins by it. 1081

The imposing hill upon which the ruins of Tell el-Hammâm are located (Fig. 115), 1082 stands near the base of the hills which rise steeply to the broken plateau of Moab to the e. Tell el-Hammâm directly commands the outlet of the Wâdī el-Meqta'a (Wâdī el-Kefrein), as it emerges from the e. hills in the form of a fairly broad and partly cultivated wâdi. Tell el-Ḥammâm is in many ways the most outstanding and impressive site in the entire area of the Plains of Moab, with the possible exception of Tell Iktanû (219). Several broad stages mark the ascent up the slopes of the hill. On its fairly flat, platform-like top, which is about 35 m, above the base of the plain (Fig. 116), are the remains of a large and originally very strongly-built Iron Age I-II fortress. It is oriented s. w. by n. e., and was once completely enclosed by a strong outer fortification wall, the lines of which can still be traced. The enclosed, rectangular area was guarded at both narrow ends by massive towers, long ago reduced to heaps of ruins. The top of the hill dips somewhat towards the center. The highest point is at the s. w. narrow end of the rectangular area, which is surmounted by the ruins of two (?) towers, between which a gateway may have opened into the fortified area. The walled area measures approximately 140 by 25 m., 1983 with the s. w. and n. e. ends being somewhat less than 20 m, wide. The fortification wall and other walls seem to be about 1.20 m, thick. The entire top of the hill, inside the walled area, is covered with the foundation-ruins of houses. The s. w. end of the hilltop forms an elevated platform, separated from the rest of the enclosed area by a cross-wall. This raised section, which culminates in the two (?) towers at the s. w. end, is about 33 m. long and about 17 m. wide, and seems to form an inner citadel. There are traces of a strong glacis built against the tower at the n.e. end. Extensive clearances might reveal the presence of a glacis built against the entire outer fortification-wall.

Large quantities of Iron I-II sherds and a small number of EBI sherds were found on the top and slopes of this fortified hill-site. We did not have time to examine the slopes and area around the base of this site as thoroughly as we would have liked to. In general, Tell el-Ḥammâm makes the impression, with its EBI and Iron Age I-II sherds, of being the same kind of site as encountered previously in the Jordan Valley, such as Tell el-Qôs 1084 and Tell

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. Mallon, TG I, pp. 150-151; Conder, SEP I, pp. 101. 229-230.

¹⁰⁸² Cf. Mallon, TG I, Pl. 11:1.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 151, who gives the measurements as 45 by 200 m.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. above, pp. 297-301.



Fig. 115. Tell el-Hammâm (Tell el-Hammeh es-Samri) (212), looking s. s. e.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

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es-Sa'idîyeh.¹⁰⁸⁵ They were so wonderfully well situated and of such inherent strategic importance, that settlers many centuries removed from each other, chose them naturally,—one might say compulsorily—for the sites on which to



Fig. 116. Looking w. n. w. across top of Tell el-Hammâm (212), with glimpse of Dead Sea in background.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

build their fortress-cities. We are confident that careful search will reveal the presence of much larger numbers of EBI sherds than we found, and that perhaps still earlier, Chalcolithic sherds will be found in the plain beyond the base of the fortress-hill. The EBI sherds which we did find belong to the

¹⁸⁸⁵ Cf. above, pp. 292-295, 340, 342.

same category of pottery as the complete vessels obtained by Père Mallon from what may be a necropolis at the base of the hill of Tell el-Ḥammâm. These have been published by Mallon, 1086 who compares them mistakenly to the pottery obtained from Teleilât el-Ghassûl, 1087 Wright 1088 has already pointed out that they must be assigned to EBI. There are no sherds on this site, so far as we could ascertain, which can be dated to the very long interval between EBI and Iron I. A small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds was also found. 1080

It will be seen from the foregoing what an important place Tell el-Ḥammân was: (a) it guards the approaches from the Mountains of Moab to the Plains of Moab, and the road from the Plains to the highlands of Na'ūr and Ḥesbân; (b) it is the most important site on the Wâdī el-Meqta'a (Wâdī el-Kefrein); (c) it controls the waters of the entire Wâdī el-Meqta'a (Wâdī el-Kefrein), which (d) marks the dividing line between the Ghôr el-Kefrein and the Ghôr er-Râmeh; (e) it was very strongly fortified in Iron Age I-II, and probably also in Early Bronze Age I; (f) it was an unusually prominent and physically striking site, being so located as to command a view over all of the Plains of Moab.

All in all, Tell el-Ḥammâm was the kind of site which could well have been known to many of the readers of the Bible. It fulfills all the possible conditions for being identified with Abel haš-Siṭṭâm. We are convinced that Tell el-Kefrein cannot compare with Tell el-Ḥammâm in this respect, being neither as large, well fortified, prominently and strategically located, and directly situated on a natural boundary line. It will be seen, as in the instances of Tell Bleibil and Tell el-Ḥammâm, that also all the other Biblical sites located in the Plains of Moab are to be found on naturally strong, fortified hill sites, located on the very e. side of the Plains, with their inhabitants in a position to exercise control over the use of the perennial streams which issue from the hills immediately to the e. of these strongholds.

Tell Abū Qarf (211)

It is significant in connection with the gaps in settlement shown by the pottery of Tell el-Ḥammâm (212), to note the finds on Tell Abū Qarf (211), which is about half a km. w. s. w.-s. w. of Tell el-Ḥammâm. Tell Abū Qarf is a low mound, about 60 m. in diameter, whose highest level is about 5 m. above the plain around it. There are some modern burials on it, but otherwise it has been swept clear of all surface building-remains. Its slopes on the n.

¹⁰⁸⁶ TG I, Pl. 61: 1-6.

¹⁰⁸⁷ TG I, p. 154.

¹⁰⁸⁸ PPEB, p. 61.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 17-18.

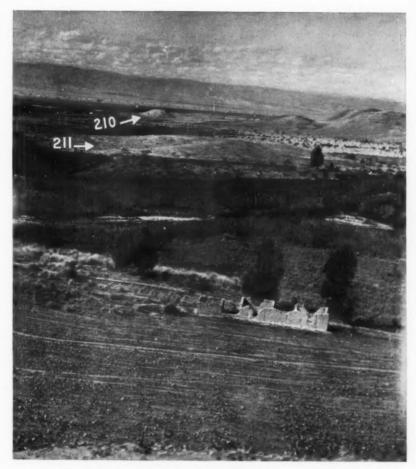


Fig. 117. Looking across Tell Abū Qarf (211), the low mound in upper center, at Tell el-Kefrein (210), with the Plain of Jericho and hills of Palestine visible in background. Between ruined building on lower slope of s. extension of hill of Tell el-Ḥammâm (212) and Tell Abū Qarf (211) is part of the diverted stream of the Wâdl el-Meqt'a.

(Phot. Nelson Glucck).

and w. sides are very gradual, with those on the s. and e. sides being somewhat more abrupt. It is almost surrounded by irrigation ditches carrying water diverted from the Wâdī el-Meqta'a (Wâdī el-Kefrein) to the neighboring fields, which are given over almost completely to banana plantations (Fig. 117). Careful search revealed the presence of some sherds, most of which belonged to EBIV and MBI, and some of which were Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic. This is the first site in our explorations of the Jordan Valley, where sherds were found which could be assigned to the EBIV period that seemed to be but very little represented in Northern Gilead and in almost all of the Jordan Valley. The presence of EBIV in this part of the Plains of Moab, however, is not to be wondered at, in view of its common existence in the Mountains of Moab.

Tell et-Tāhûn (213)

A little over half a km. n. of Tell el-Ḥammâm (212) is Tell et-Ṭāhûn (213), on a hilltop overlooking the Wâdī el-Meqta'a from the n. On the top of the hill are the foundation remains of a large building, oriented n.-s., and measuring about 25 by 18 m., with foundation-walls, practically flush with the surface, measuring about .80 m. in width. Near the bottom of the s. w. side of the hill, the canalized stream of the Wâdī el-Meqta'a works a small modern water mill. A small number of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds was found.

Tell el-Hebbesah

About 500 m. east of Tell el-Ḥammân (212), according to Conder and Mallon, 1091 are the remains of a Roman fortress called Tell el-Ḥebbesah, on top of a small hill. We did not get to visit it. On the hillsides farther east, are the remains of extensive fields of great dolmens. These most impressive groups of megalithic monuments, whose total number must originally have reached many thousands, occur throughout the length of Transjordan, being found in the w. part of the highlands and on the slopes leading down to the edge of the Ghôr along the entire length of the east side of the Jordan Valley, and along the slopes leading down to the east side of the Dead Sea and to the e. side of the Wâdī el-ʿArabah. They once existed in large numbers in Palestine also. 1092 We have previously discussed the nature of the civilization of the dolmen builders, which we believe to have been an advanced, agricultural

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Annual XV, p. 138; XVIII-XIX, pp. 264-265; above, n. 102; Bulletin 95, pp. 3-11.

¹⁰⁰¹ SEP I, p. 230; TG I, p. 150; Biblica 14, 1933, pp. 400-402.

¹⁰⁹² Cf. above, p. 154, n. 387; Bulletin 91, pp. 19. 25; Stekelis, MMP, pp. 17-80.

one that flourished no later than the 6th millennium B. C. The dolmen builders lived, we think, in massive stone houses. The dolmens were built in accordance with the general pattern of such houses, 1093 as illustrated, for instance, by the one discussed above from the ed-Dâmieh dolmen-field, which had two chambers separated by a massive stone-block partition, with a doorway cut through it. 1094

Tell Umm el-Qetein (221)

The long, narrow type of dolmen, containing two chambers, connected by an aperture cut through the partition slab, can be seen at Tell Umm el-Qeţein (221), 1005 which is just a little less than 2 km. s. s. e. of Tell el-Ḥammâm (212). Tell Umm el-Qeţein is situated at the very e. end of the Plains of Moab, near the beginning of the sharp rise of the foothills to the broken plateau of Moab above. It stands on a flattish rise, oriented e.-w., of an outspur of the foothills, which extends between the Wâdī el-Ḥesbân (Wâdī er-Râmeh) to the s. and the parallel Wâdī el-Qeṣeib to the n.,—which, in turn, joins the Wâdī er-Râmeh, a short distance above the location of the small site of Tell eš-Šaghûr (216). 1096

The long, rectangular, two-chambered dolmens of Tell Umm el-Qetein, five of which are still more or less intact or recognizable, testify eloquently to the skill and energy and advanced stage of civilization of their builders. The westernmost of these dolmens is 7.35 m. long and 3.5 m. wide. The one next to it to the e. is about 6 m. long and 3 m. wide. These great dolmens, which have already been described in detail by others, 1097 were erected on more or less circular bases or platforms, composed of as many as three tiers, the upper two set back, respectively, beyond the one below. The circular platform-base of the second of the above-mentioned dolmens measured 14.65 m. in diameter at the bottom of its first tier, with the second tier being set back about 1.80 m. from the first, and the third somewhat less from the second tier, and the two upper tiers being about 15 cm. higher each above the one below (Fig. 118-121). Dolmens generally were built on foundation platforms.

We are convinced that every dolmen was originally covered with a massive

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. above, pp. 188-192; Bulletin 91, pp. 19-20. 25; RJ, pp. 132-137.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 75-77. 356-357.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Jan. 28, 1943; Bulletin 91, pp. 19. 22.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. below, p. 392.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Conder, SEP I, pp. 230-236, has given a good description of these dolmens; cf. especially the drawings on p. 232. Conder calls this site Tell el-Metâbi', which, however, is the name of the dolmen field on the hill above Tell Umm el-Qetein to the e.-e. s. e.; cf. Vincent, Canaan, pp. 420-421, fig. 292-294; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, Pl. 21: 49 and p. A. 391; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, pp. 224-230; TG I, p. 154.



Fig. 118. Remains of a large, rectangular, double-chambered dolmen at Tell Umm el-Qețein (221), showing doorway in middle partition.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck),

blanket or tumulus of dirt.¹⁰⁹⁸ After the protective tumulus had been dug or worn away, the dolmen was left accessible for sacred and profane use and re-use throughout many subsequent millennia. The discovery of pottery in or by them proves absolutely nothing with regard to the date of their original construction. Thus, it is impossible to date the dolmens of Tell Umm el-Qeţein to the EB I-II periods simply because we found sherds of those periods in the debris around them.¹⁰⁹⁹

In the dirt on top of the third step of the circular base of the second of the above-mentioned dolmens, we found an EBI semi-elliptical ledge-handle, with indentations on the unbroken part of its outer edge. 1100 There was also nearby a fragment of an EB II stump base, and other EB I-II fragments. These sherds merely indicate that there was an EBI-II occupation of Tell Umm el-Qetein, and might possibly show that the dolmens there were re-used during the first part of the Early Bronze Age, long after the time they were first constructed and covered over with tumuli of dirt. To our knowledge, no dolmens in Transjordan or Palestine have ever been excavated, where it can incontestably be proved that the objects found in them do not come from periods subsequent to the original raising up of the dolmens. We adhere to our belief that the dolmens cannot be dated later than the 6th millennium B. C. This does not, of course, include modified types, which persisted down into the Chalcolithic period. The discovery of Middle Chalcolithic Ghassulian pottery in some of the cists excavated by Stekelis in the el-'Adeimeh ('Azeimeh) field, 1101 or of comparatively later objects by Neuville in cists in the Wâdī et-Terfeh, 1102 has no bearing whatsoever upon the dating of the dolmens and of the dolmen-civilization, which developed and finally disappeared, we think, before the use of pottery became prevalent, and perhaps even before the development of baked pottery.

Tell el-Metâbi (220)

About a km. e. s. e. of Tell Umm el-Qețein (221), on a rise situated among the hills rising abruptly to the Ḥesbân highlands above, is the almost completely featureless ruin of Tell el-Meţâbi (220). To the n., it overlooks the

1000 Cf. above, p. 481; Bulletin 91, pp. 19.22.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Cf. above, pp. 76.77, dealing with the dolmen site of Qafqafā (259); Stekelis, MMP, pp. 36-46; Neuville, in Biblica XI, 1930, p. 256.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. Pottery Notes, p. 443, to Khirbet el-Metwi (300), Pl. 24: 1.2 and references there; Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 54, Fig. 29; p. 253, and Pl. 16: 1; Wright, PPEB, p. 60. ¹¹⁰¹ Stekelis, MMP, pp. 38-80.

¹¹⁰³ Neuville, La Necropole Mégalithique d'el-Adeimeh, in Biblica 11, 1930, pp. 249-265.

hills which mark the descent down to the Wâdī el-Ḥesbân, and to the w. it commands a wonderful view of the Plains of Moab. A modern survey rujm stands there among some nondescript ruins. A small quantity of more or less

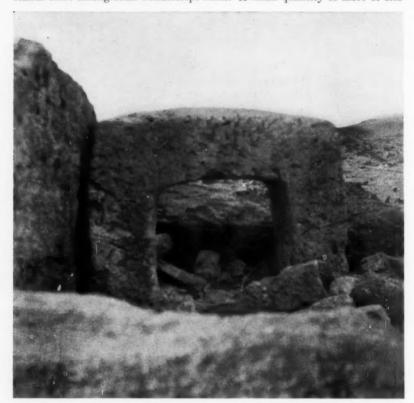


Fig. 119. Close-up of opening in middle partition of double-chambered dolmen at Umm el-Qetein (221).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

indeterminable, exceedingly worn sherds was found, in addition to some Byzantine and fairly modern Arabic fragments of pottery. Part of a small, much worn basalt quern was found. The site might have been occupied in Iron Age I-II, and earlier, but the pottery evidence could do little more than suggest that possibility.

Some distance above this site, and particularly below it, on the descent down to the Wâdī Ḥesbân, is a completely tumble-down group of large dolmens, which are probably to be related to those of Tell Umm el-Qetein. On the s. side of the Wâdī Ḥesbân, at the bottom of the slope between Tell el-Meṭâbi¹ and Tell Umm el-Qetein, is a small water mill, which was still functioning at the time of our visit.¹¹¹³ Between the dolmen-field of Tell el-Meṭâbi¹ and the water mill, we found part of the line of a rock-cut channel, which, apparently, once led water from farther up the Wâdī Ḥesbân down to the fields at the base of the hill, near the water mill. There were some loose, pierced, dressed stone blocks, lying about, out of position, which apparently functioned as a pipe-line continuing the above-mentioned rock-cut channel.¹¹¹²⁴

Tell er-Râmeh (214)

Less than 3 km. s. s. w.-s. w. of Tell el-Kefrein (210), and a little less than 2.5 km. s. s. e.-s. e. of Khirbet el-Kefrein (210 a) is Tell er-Râmeh (214), about half a km. s. of the Wâdī er-Râmeh. After emerging from the eastern hills where it is known as the Wâdī Ḥesbân, the Wâdī er-Râmeh flows w., and is joined by the Wâdī el-Kefrein some 5 km. before the stream empties into the Jordan. There is a fine, perennial stream of water in the Wâdī er-Râmeh, most of which is drawn off for irrigation purposes in the lands to the n. and particularly s. of it, with the result, that as in the case also of the Wâdī el-Kefrein, comparatively little of their combined flow reaches the Jordan. It is this site of Tell er-Râmeh, which has generally been identified with the Biblical Beth-harâm, 1105 the southernmost of the four outstanding towns in the Jordan Valley, mentioned, as we have seen, in progressive order from s. to n., in Joshua 13: 27, 1106

"... And in the Valley, Beth-harâm and Beth-nimrah; and Succoth and Zaphôn."

Tell er-Râmeh is a fairly high and almost completely natural mound that juts about 20 m. high over the fertile plain of the Ghôr er-Râmeh, which is bounded on the n. by the Wâdī er-Râmeh and on the s. by the Wâdī Ejrafeh. The slopes and particularly the top of the site are dotted with numerous modern Arabic graves, including some outstanding large ones. It is in the midst of an intensively cultivated garden and plantation area, which is irrigated by the waters of the Wâdī er-Râmeh (Fig. 113.114).

1104 Cf. ANNUAL XVIII-XIX, p. 57, Fig. 31.

1106 Cf. Num. 32: 36.

¹¹⁰⁸ Jan. 28, 1943.

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. Mallon, Biblica X, 1930, pp. 220-222; TG I, p. 149; Conder, SEP I, pp. 238-239; Merrill, East of the Jordan, pp. 383-384; Musil, Moab I, p. 347; Klein, pp. 12-13; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 219; Géographie . . . II, p. 273.



Fig. 120. Double-chambered dolmen at Umm el-Qetein (221).
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Eusebius reports that Betharam, a town of Gad near the Jordan, known as Bethramtha in Aramaic, was called Livias by Herod in honor of Augustus. 1107 According to Josephus, its name was changed again some time later on to Julias. 1108 Abel traces the development of the name from the Biblical Bethharâm to the Beit er-Râm of Mugaddasī in the 10th century A.D., and the Beit Râmah of Yaqût, circa 1225 A. D. 1109 The equation of Beth-harâm, Bethramtha, Beit er-Râm, Beit Râmah, and Tell er-Râmeh with Livias (Julias), which was supposed to have been 6 Roman miles from the Dead Sea, 1110 is undoubtedly correct. It does not in the least, however, prove that Tell er-Râmeh is to be identified with the original site of the Biblical Beth-harâm, which, according to the records of the Bible, first belonged to Sihon before it was taken over by the tribe of Gad. 1111 An examination of the potsherds found on the top and slopes and round about Tell er-Râmeh proves that this identification cannot possibly be correct. Large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, but not a single sherd that can be ascribed to any period earlier than Roman. 1112 The writer paid two visits to Tell er-Râmeh for the purpose of checking these finds, with, however, the same results.1113

Where then is the original Iron Age I-II site of Beth-harâm to be located? Albright very properly has remarked: "The site of Roman Bethramthā-Livias . . . inherited the name of Hebrew Beth-harâm . . . The Early Iron Age site may not be at Tell er-Râmeh itself, but rather at one of the other mounds in the immediate vicinity, especially Tell Šaghûr and Tell Iktanû." Let us then examine some of the neighboring sites.

el-Mazâr (215)

About half a km, to the s.e. of Tell er-Râmeh (214) is el-Mazâr (215). It is a small rise covered with modern graves, and with some graves extending also to the e. of it. There are remains of foundation ruins beside it to the e., which may possibly have belonged to a Byzantine church.

¹¹⁰⁷ Onomasticon 48: 13-15; 49: 12-13.

¹¹⁰⁸ Josephus, BJ II, 13.2; IV, 7.6; cf. Musil, Moab I, pp. 347-348 for additional references to the position of Livias.

¹¹⁰⁰ RB XL, 1931, p. 220.

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. Bulletin 91, p. 15, n. 29.

¹¹¹¹ Josh. 13: 24-27; Num. 32: 34-36.

¹¹¹² Cf. Abel, RB XL, 1931, pp. 220-223.

¹¹¹³ Jan. 27. 28, 1943.

¹¹¹⁴ ANNUAL VI, p. 49.

Tell ed-Dabākîyeh (217)

About a km. w.s. w.-w. of Tell er-Râmeh (214) is Tell ed-Dabākîyeh (217).¹¹¹⁵ It consists of a large, long reservoir on a narrow e.-w. rise, with a circular pool at its e. end. The total length of the reservoir is about 110 m. The w., curved end of the reservoir, which is still several m. above ground, was about a meter thick, with large field stones composing its inner and outer sides, and a fill of small stones in the center of the wall. Most of the length of the reservoir seems to be about 16 m. in width, with the pool at the e. end, which opens up into the main stretch of the reservoir, about 29 m. in diameter. A canal from the Wâdī er-Râmeh must originally have led water to this excellently situated reservoir, whence the water was distributed to the neighboring fields. Numerous pieces of mosaic flooring were found by Tell ed-Dabākîyeh, in addition to numerous fragments of Byzantine pottery.

Tell eš-Šaghûr (216)

A little over half a km. to the n. e. of Tell er-Râmeh (214), almost immediately s. of the Wâdī er-Râmeh, is Tell eš-Šaghûr (216). It consists of several small, low, bare, rocky hillocks, with a good spring on the e. side of them, and another on the n. w. side. Some modern houses have been built just below them. The rocky outcrops, particularly on the e. side, were anciently used as quarries. Careful search revealed a small number of mediaeval Arabic and comparatively modern Arabic sherds. Neither Beth-harâm nor any other site of any importance could ever have been situated there. 1116

Tell el-Meselheh (218)

About 1.6 km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell er-Râmeh (214), and 1.25 km. e. s. e. of Tell eš-Šaghûr (216), is Tell el-Meselheh (218), 1117 on the s. side of the Wâdī er-Râmeh. It is no more of a tell than is Tell eš-Šaghûr, and consists in reality of a not very noticeable rocky outcrop. On its s. e. side are the workings of an ancient quarry. Between this point and that of Tell Iktanû (219), which is about 1.4 km. to the s. e.-e. s. e. of it, numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds could be seen in the fields. There is evidence that from the point of Tell Iktanû westwards, from very early times on, with various gaps, there had been intensive irrigation-agriculture, which supported a comparatively large population in permanent settlements. The population was probably at its highest during the Roman and Byzantine periods, and continued in considerable numbers through the mediaeval Arabic period. After that, there

¹¹¹⁵ Jan. 28, 1943; cf. Bulletin 91, p. 21.

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. Conder, SEP I, pp. 239-240.

¹¹¹⁷ Cf. Conder, SEP I, p. 237.

was a severe decline in its numbers and in the area put under irrigationagriculture, that lasted till the end of World War I. Since then, the population has increased again, but neither its numbers, nor the points of permanent



Fig. 121. Inner view of double-chambered dolmen at Tell Umm el-Qeţein. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

sedentary settlement, nor the acreage being cultivated can compare to what it was in ancient times,—certainly not even to what it probably was in Iron Age I-II times, not to speak of the greatest period of development, which took place in the Roman and Byzantine times. What applies to the area w. of Tell

Iktanû, applies naturally to the entire Plains of Moab, and for that matter to all of the Jordan Valley and the hill country of Transjordan.

Tell Iktanû (219)

Next to Tell el-Hammâm (212), Tell Iktanû 1118 is the most important site in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb. Its position, fortifications, and pottery make it the only possible candidate for identification with the Biblical Beth-harâm. Albright's suggestion that it may be the Iron Age I-II place mentioned in the Bible, as opposed to the generally accepted Tell er-Râmeh (214),1119 is fully substantiated by the facts. Tell Iktanû is about 2.7 km. e. s. e. of Tell er-Râmeh, and is somewhat less than half a km. from the s. side of the Wâdī er-Râmeh. It is situated on a large, completely isolated hill, which dominates the plain to the w. of it, as well as the approaches to the hills to the e, and to the s. of it. Some 35 m, high above the plain around it, Tell Iktanû commands also the outlet of the Wâdī er-Râmeh (Wâdī Hesbân) from the hills to the e. of it, which begin to curve sharply inwards s. w. towards the n. e. end of the Dead Sea. From Tell Iktanû, the land begins to mount perceptibly, by a series of rising stages, intersected and crisscrossed by numerous irrigation ditches, until the base of the hills to the e. is reached, marked by the position of Tell Umm el-Qetein (221). Tell Umm el-Qetein, as we have seen, is situated on an e.-w. rise, on a low spur about midway between the Wâdī er-Râmeh to the s, and the Wâdī Qeseib to the n., which later on joins the Wâdī er-Râmeh.1120

The Wâdī er-Râmeh (the w. continuation of the Wâdī Ḥesbân), with its perennial stream, is the last of its size, as one goes s. in the Plains of Moab from the Wâdī Nimrîn. It forms a distinctive boundary line in the Plains of Moab. The n. limit of the Plains of Moab is marked, as we have seen, by the Wâdī Nimrîn, dominated in Iron Age I-II by Tell Bleibil, the site of the Biblical Beth-nimrah. The largest wâdī crossing the s. part of the Plains is the Wâdī er-Râmeh, dominated by Tell Iktanû.

On the fairly flat top of the large hill of Tell Iktanû are the remains of a strong fortress, which in its present form probably belongs to Iron Age I-II. The fortified area of the top of Tell Iktanû was situated at the s. e. end of the summit of its hill, and is oriented n. e.-n. n. e. by s. w.-s. s. w. There are traces of an approximately one meter wide wall enclosing this entire area. The irregular fortified area measures about 42 m. on the e. side, with the wall curving around from s. e. to n. w., 35 m. on the s. side, approximately the

¹¹¹⁸ Bulletin 91, pp. 19-23; cf. TG I, Pl. 4: 2 for phot. of Tell Iktanû.

¹¹¹⁹ ANNUAL VI, p. 49.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. pp. 385, 396, 398.

same on the n. side, and about 20 m. on the w. side. 1121 Below the s. w. side of the fortified area is a rocky spur which descends in a jagged line to the plain below. Numerous sherds were found on the top and slopes and around the base of the hill. The sherds ranged from Middle Chalcolithic to Iron Age I-II, aside from a few Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic fragments, with the sherds of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages being found for the most part on the lower slopes, particularly on the south slope, and by the base of the hill. Most of the large numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, among which the Iron Age II sherds predominated, were found within and immediately around the fortified area. There were some Chalcolithic sherds, most of which seemed to belong to Middle Chalcolithic, and in addition there were some EBIV-MBI and MB II sherds. 1122 We have discussed above, in connection with the pottery finds at Tell el-Hammâm, the fact that EB IV sherds, generally absent in most of Gilead and all of the Jordan Valley, have been found in the Plains of Moab, -- a fact which is in harmony with the existence of EB IV sites in the hill country of southern Transjordan. 1123

The process whereby in a later period, the name of a destroyed and abandoned Biblical site, having been preserved in story and song for centuries, became attached to a new settlement in the center of the plain, or at least some distance away from the original one at the e. end of the plain on a fortified site overlooking the outlet of a perennial stream from the hills, is repeated again in the instance of the relationship of Tell Iktanû (Beth-harâm) to Tell er-Râmeh, as it was in the case of the relationship of Tell Bleibil (Beth-nimrah) to Tell Nimrîn.

As already noted, the hills to the e. and s. of Tell Iktanû (219) curve around toward the n. e. end of the Dead Sea, interposing a high, broken wall limiting the s. extent of the Plains of Moab. In this area of the ' $Arb\hat{o}th$ $M\hat{o}'\hat{a}b$, there are no streams of water as strong as those in the $wudy\hat{a}n$ thus far dealt with. There is nevertheless one fairly important $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$, with a perennial stream fed by strong springs, which marks the southernmost limit of the arable area of the ' $Arb\hat{o}th$ $M\hat{o}'\hat{a}b$. It is the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. There are, however, several e.-w. $wudy\hat{a}n$ between the Wâdī er-Râmeh and the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. South of the Wâdī er-Râmeh is the dry Wâdī Ejrafeh, which serves more or less as the southernmost limit of the lands irrigated by the waters of the Wâdī er-Râmeh.

¹¹²¹ Cf. the plan without scale by Mallon, in Biblica X, 1929, p. 230, fig. 2, which cannot possibly be correct; Merrill, p. 230; Conder, SEP I, p. 230.

¹¹²² The sherds from Tell Iktanû reproduced in TG I, belong to the following periods: TG I, Pl. 61:7, to the Middle Chalcolithic; Pl. 62.5.6(?).7.8(?) to MB I; Pl. 62: 1-4 to MB II; cf. p. 151; Biblica X, 1929, p. 231.

¹¹²⁸ Cf. Annual XVIII-XIX, p. 268; above, n. 1090.

Close to the s. side of the Wâdī Ejrafeh, at a point about 1.4 km. s.-s. s. e. of Tell er-Râmeh (214) is Tell Ejrafeh,1124 which we did not get to visit. From the air, the low site of what we took to be Tell Ejrafeh, with a number of separate, small tumuli, seemed to be very interesting. About 4.3 km. s. w.w. s. w. of Tell er-Râmeh (214), and 4 km, w. s. w. of Tell Ejrafeh is Teleilât Ghassûl (228) (Fig. 122). It is located some 350 m. beyond the n. side of the Wâdī Ejrafeh, and just below the very southwestern edge of the lands irrigated by the waters from the Wâdī er-Râmeh.1125 Below Wâdī Ejrafeh is Wâdī et-Terfeh, whose easternmost stretch is known as the Wâdī 'Ain Mûsā, receiving the first part of the flow of its stream from the 'Ayûn Mûsā below Jebel Siaghah. Most of the water of the 'Ayûn Mûsā is now pumped up to Mâdebā.1126 The Wâdī 'Ain Mûsā soon loses its flow of water, and its continuation, the Wâdī et-Terfeh, is dry until, shortly after emerging from the hills, some springs furnish it with a small flow of water, beginning at a point close to where a branch to the s. of it, the Wâdī Abū Qa'îl, joins it. From the air, it looks as if there might be an important antiquity site at the end of the triangle formed by the junction of the two wadis. It might, on the other hand, be a completely natural, isolated rise. We were not able to visit it. To the s. of the Wâdī Abū Qa'îl, another small, lateral wâdī, called the Wâdī Siyâleh, joins the Wadi et-Terfeh, which bends to the s. w. to empty into the Dead Sea,—the Wâdī Ejrafeh being the southernmost of the wuduân in the Plains of Moab to reach or approach the Jordan. The Wâdī Siyâleh is joined by the

¹¹²⁴ Cf. the map in TG I, p. 148, Fig. 67, where it is called Khirbet Djarafa.

¹¹²⁵ We doubt very much whether the abandonment of sites such as Teleilât Ghassûl were caused by changes of climate. This site and others like it in the Plains of Moab and elsewhere existed by virtue of irrigation agriculture. A glance at an air-photograph shows that Teleilât Ghassûl is not situated so far out in the plain as to have made the irrigation of its lands prohibitively difficult. It is likewise very difficult to believe that there were more lateral streams flowing through the Plains of Moab into the Jordan than there are today. Nor do we think that Middle Chalcolithic sites are restricted to lowlands. There is the Early and Late Chalcolithic Tell el-Far'ah, overlooking the Wâdī el-Far'ah, n. e. of Nablus, in Palestine, and, furthermore, there are sites with pottery which seems definitely to be in some instances no later than Middle Chalcolithic, in the highlands in Transjordan, such as Tell Kufr Yûbā (81), Khirbet el-Metwī (300), Umm Beteimeh (302), Saḥrī (303), Tell el-Meghānîyeh (261), and Zakhîreh (306); cf. above, pp. 71-75. 78. 79. 87. 129. 396 and Pottery Plates 87. 24. 108. 32. 65. 111; Bulletin 104, pp. 12-20. We believe, in a word, that the final abandonment of Teleilât Ghassûl was due, as Albright puts it, "to a general devastation of the country before 3500 B.C.," and that "some time may have elapsed before men began to settle down again," but that this final abandonment was definitely not due to any changes in climate; cf. Albright, AP, pp. 69-70; above, p. 326, n. 885.

¹¹²⁶ Cf. ANNUAL XV, p. 110.

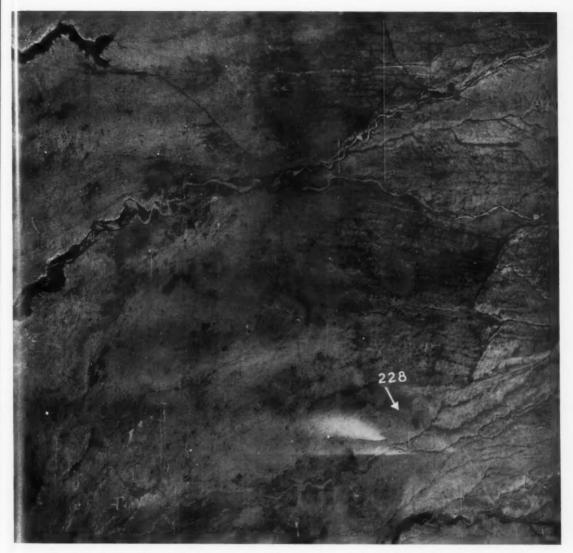


Fig. 122. Teleilât Ghassûl (228), s.e.-s.s.e. of the confluence of the Wâdī el-Kefrein with the Wâdī er-Râmeh, which empties into the Jordan.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

Wâdī el-Ḥajal, before it joins the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭerfeh. And below the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭerfeh is the Wâdī el-ʿAzeimeh, whose e. continuation or rather beginning stretch in the hills is known as the Wâdī el-Herī.¹¹²⁷

Khirbet Sweimeh (222)

It is the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh with its powerful springs, which makes possible the irrigation of an area approximately 1.5 km. square at the southwesternmost corner of the Plains of Moab, on both sides of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, and as far as the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, and facing the n. e. end of the Dead Sea, into which the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh empties. It is in this southernmost area of the 'Arbôth Mô'áb, which has been subjected to irrigation agriculture certainly from the 4th millennium on, with intervals of idleness or abandonment in between, in which, according to Numbers 33: 49 the Biblical Beth hay-Yešīmôth is located:

"And they (the Israelites) camped along the (Valley of the) Jordan, from Beth hay-Yešīmôth to Abel haš-Šiṭṭīm in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb."

This passage is by no means in opposition to Joshua 13:27, which deals with another, partly overlapping division of the rich lands extending farther n. in the Plains of Moab. Each of these two verses, namely, Numbers 33:49 and Joshua 13:27, looks, so to speak, at the Plains of Moab through different binoculars. Each pair of sites listed in these verses, Beth hay-Yešīmôth and Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm in Numbers 33:49 on the one hand, and Beth-harâm and Beth-nimrah in Joshua 13:27 on the other, includes some land common to both and some contained only in one or the other. The stretch from the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, on which Beth hay-Yešīmôth has correctly been located, to the Wâdī el-Kefrein, on which Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm (Tell el-Hammâm), is located, represents a natural whole, just as the stretch from the Wâdī er-Râmeh on which Beth-harâm (Tell Iktanû) is located, to the Wâdī Nimrîn on which Beth-nimrah (Tell Bleibil) is located, represents another and somewhat complementary whole. Common to both areas is the stretch between the Wâdī el-Kefrein, and to the s. of it, the Wâdī er-Râmeh which joins it.

The site hitherto generally identified with the Biblical Beth hay-Yešīmôth is Khirbet Sweimeh (222), 1128 on the n. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. It is about 2 km. from the n. e. end of the Dead Sea, and about a km. n. w.-w. n. w. of the powerful spring of 'Ain Sweimeh. The most striking and obvious reason for this identification is the similarity of the name Yešīmôth to Sweimeh, which is clearly its arabicized form. The name occurs in Josephus's description of the conquest of the Plains of Moab by Placidus, according to

¹¹²⁷ Cf. ANNUAL XV, p. 110.

¹¹²⁸ Feb. 10, 1943; cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 23-24.

which Placidus "took Abila, Julias, and Bezemoth." ¹¹²⁰ Abel traces the development in literature extending through the Middle Ages ¹¹³⁰ of the Biblical name to its present Arabic form. The position of Khirbet Sweimeh corresponds also with the location of the site as given by Eusebius, described as "Bethsimuth, which is known today as Isimuth," and as being opposite Jericho, about 10 miles south, near the Dead Sea. ¹¹³¹ It is also in accord with the position on the Mâdebā map, where it is shown near the n. e. end of the Dead Sea, surrounded by palm trees, although the name itself is missing. ¹¹³²

Khirbet Sweimeh is an extensive, low, practically bare mound, several m. high above the plain, oriented roughly w.-e., and measuring about 75 by 60 m. Part of it is used as a modern Arabic cemetery. On its w. side are some rude stone huts which serve as store-houses for the tiny village of Sweimeh, standing a short distance away from the s. e. end of the mound, where a small spring appears. The store-houses are built of stones taken from foundations in the mound, some of which have been exposed by shallow excavations by the inhabitants of the village. About a km. to the s. e. of Khirbet Sweimeh is a splendid spring, called 'Ain Sweimeh, 1133 gushing forth in a hollow at the base of the hills which encircle the n. e. to s. e. sides of the Sweimeh lands. The water of this spring is led through a canal to a point on the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh opposite the site of Khirbet Sweimeh, and then westward to irrigate an extensive area of land on the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. Another irrigation canal leads s. w.-w. s. w. from 'Ain Sweimeh through the n. e. section of the Sweimeh lands.

A careful examination was made of the large numbers of sherds found on and around Khirbet Sweimeh. Many of them were taken from a deep trench cut across most of the width of the mound near its w. end. The sherds were Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic, with nothing of any earlier period among them. Père Abel, whose explorations in the Jordan Valley have contributed so much to our knowledge of its ancient history, very kindly permitted the writer to examine the sherds he had collected years previously from Khirbet Sweimeh. They were the same as those found by the writer on the site. In view of the absence of any sherds whatsoever which are pre-Roman,

¹¹²⁹ BJ IV, 7. 6.

¹¹³⁰ RB XLI, 1932, pp. 85-86.

¹¹³¹ Onomasticon 48: 6-8; 49: 5-7.

¹¹³² Cf. Abel, RB VI, 1909, p. 230; Géographie . . . II, p. 275; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, pp. 218-220; TG I, p. 147; Conder, SEP I, p. 156.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cf. RB XLI, 1932, pp. 84-85, and Pl. IV: 2.

¹¹⁵⁴ Cf. RB XLI, 1932, p. 85; Géographie . . . II, p. 275; Mallon, Biblica X, 1929, p. 219.

or more specifically which belong to Iron Age I-II, it becomes obviously impossible to accept the identification of Khirbet Sweimeh with Beth hay-Yešīmôth. Here then, in the case of Khirbet Sweimeh, is yet another unfortified site, situated in an open plain, which inherited the name of the original, fortified, Iron Age I-II site located somewhere in the vicinity. The question remains open then for the moment as to the location of Biblical Beth hay-Yešīmôth, inasmuch as it is definitely not to be identified with Khirbet Sweimeh.

Teleilât Umweis (223)

About three quarters of a km. to the e.-e. n. e. of Khirbet Sweimeh (222), is Teleilât Umweis (223), 1135 directly overlooking the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. The place seems to have been built directly on a very low rise, overlooking a triangular bend northward of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. There are some vague foundation-ruins in an area about 55 m. in diameter, and what seem to be the remains of a tower (?) at the n. e. side. Small quantities of worn sherds were found after long search in and around the area of the site, and on the slopes leading down to the dry bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, whose stream has been diverted farther up for irrigation purposes, as we shall see. A few of the sherds may possibly have belonged to the Middle Chalcolithic period, and several others seemed to belong to EB IV-MB I, and a few to Iron Age II, with the remainder being Byzantine.

Rujm el-'Azeimeh (224)

Less than three quarters of a km. to the n. e.-e. n. e. of Teleilât Umweis (223), is Rujm el-'Azeimeh (224), on the n. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. It consists of the remains of a small birkeh, which still catches and keeps rain water for a while. It seems to be a dirt reservoir, but perhaps after the debris were removed, the original stone walls would reappear. There is a 10 m. long stone wall on its w. side, the relationship of which to the birkeh, if any at all, we did not understand. A small number of painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds was found by this small reservoir. Despite the fact that every thing round about it was brown and burned, our horses browsed on the grass and shrubs still growing inside the birkeh at the time of our visit. 1136

Tell el-'Azeimeh (227)

Less than 3 km. e. n. e. of Khirbet Sweimeh (222), is Tell el-'Azeimeh

¹¹²⁵ Jan. 29, 1943; cf. Bulletin 91, p. 24; RB XLI, 1932, Pl. IV: 1; TG I, pp. 148-149.
¹¹³⁶ Jan. 29, 1943.

(227). 1137 overlooking from the s. the Wadī el-'Azeimeh. It is less than three quarters of a km, e, s, e, of Rujm el-'Azeimeh (224). It is situated on the edge of a high, flattish, isolated bench, with a tiny wadī curving around its s. side, and joining the Wadī el-'Azeimeh below it. This site stands thus at the top of the base of a triangle, whose apex is formed by the meeting of these two wudyan. In the Wadī el-'Azeimeh below this site, there rises the powerful spring of Ras Moyet el-'Azeimeh. Its waters are completely diverted into a canal, which leads them beyond the n, side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh for a considerable distance w.-w. n. w. and then n. w. all the way across to the Wâdī et-Terfeh, where they are used to irrigate fields on both sides of it, but particularly on its s. side. The entire course of the curving line of this water channel, diverting the water from the Ras Movet el-'Azeimeh in the Wadī el-'Azeimeh across the shallow Wâdī Hajal to the sides of the shallow Wâdī et-Terfeh, can clearly be seen from the air. This water channel is about 2.5 km, long. At a point about 1.5 km, still higher up the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh (Wâdī el-Herī), still another water channel or tiny canal diverts the flow of the Wâdī el-Herī, joined with the water from the strong spring of 'Ain el-Heri, and leads it in a fairly straight line overland and westward past the s. side of Tell el-'Azeimeh. It continues then for some distance along the s. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, which it crosses just above Khirbet es-Sweimeh (222) to help irrigate the fields w. of Khirbet es-Sweimeh beyond the n. side of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh. The main stretch of this canal is some 3 km. long. As a result of the diversion of these waters, the entire length of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh is dry.

The land below the oval bench on which Tell el-'Azeimeh is located falls away sharply to the w., with the result that one commands from Tell el-'Azeimeh a splendid view over the plain to the w., which descends in gradual stages to the shore of the Dead Sea. The more or less oval bench, oriented roughly n.-s., on which this site is located, is marked with the remains of a number of foundations of ancient buildings of indeterminate date, and there is some evidence that the entire area was once enclosed within a wall. One fairly large rectangular area is still completely encompassed by a wall about a meter thick. The shortness of time at our disposal when we examined this site did not enable us to take any accurate measurements. Some measurements are given by Mallon and Neuville.¹¹³⁸ We devoted all the time at our disposal,

¹¹⁵⁷ Feb. 10, 1943; cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 24-25; this is apparently the Khirbet el'Azeimeh (Adeimeh) of Abel's map in RB XLI, 1932, p. 78, fig. 1, but is not to be confused with the Roman camp below it, on which Abel, pp. 82-83, reports.

¹¹³⁸ Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 151, and Neuville, *Biblica* XI, 1930, p. 261, who state that the area of Tell el-'Azeimeh measures approximately 116 by 75 m.

after making a reconnaissance of the site, to search for ancient potsherds, of which we found a fair number. Among them were some Middle Chalcolithic fragments, a larger number of Iron Age I-II sherds, and some later sherds extending from the Roman to the mediaeval Arabic periods (cf. *Pottery Notes*, pp. 466-467).

The Wâdī el-'Azeimeh narrows and deepens to the e. beyond Tell el-'Azeimeh. This site, dominating the southernmost part of the Plains of Moab, is in a position absolutely to control the flow of water westward, which stems from its upper reaches and the strong spring immediately below it. It occupies thus a position of large strategic importance, controlling an important track leading up to the highlands of the Mâdebā region in the Mountains of Moab, and it guards the westward course of the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh, which forms the southernmost boundary of the fertile reaches of the Plains of Moab. It is the only possible site along the Wâdī el-'Azeimeh which can be identified with the Biblical Beth hay-Yešīmôth. After its destruction in the early 6th century B. C., its original name became attached to the site of Khirbet Sweimeh. 1139

This completes the examination of the Biblical sites located in the Plains of Moab. It has been seen that they were all located at the e. edge of the Plains. They were always built on easily fortified and usually isolated hills, guarding perennial streams and strategic roads and positions. The question of public security was obviously paramount in the minds of the inhabitants during Iron Age I-II. They chose naturally strong sites for their towns and fortresses to guard the fertile, irrigated plains from which they gained their sustenance. During this period, each important settlement was strongly fortified, although a number of open villages may have been clustered about it, as, for instance, in the case of those around Succoth (Tell Deir'allā).

During the difficult centuries that followed the dangerous years of their pilgrim beginnings, the Israelites, and for that matter the Edomites and Moabites and Ammonites and other contemporary groups in that part of the world, had constantly to be on guard against enemies from outside and against each other. After their civilization was destroyed in the 6th century B. C., these fortified hilltops were abandoned, and most of Transjordan and the Jordan Valley reverted to grazing lands, with a nomadic economy replacing the highly developed one of the previous, sedentary civilization. Subsequently, in Hellenistic-Roman times, more expansive settlements were established in the very center of the Plains of Moab by the sides or in the vicinity of the perennial streams, which had been guarded in earlier centuries by strong fortresses overlooking the points of their emergence from the eastern hills.

¹¹³⁹ Cf. RJ, pp. 239-240.

These new and largely unfortified cities flourished during the beneficent period of peace which prevailed when Rome established political hegemony over broad spaces of the world, and directly or indirectly maintained public security throughout the farthest reaches of her empire. 1140

It is well to emphasize one particular factor, which determined the location of the Iron Age cities in the Plains of Moab. This was the necessity of guarding the outlets of the perennial streams from the e. hills into the open plains. Agriculture in the Jordan Valley, in which we include the Plains of Moab, depends very considerably, and in such areas as the Plains of Moab completely, upon irrigation. Were the life-giving waters cut off from most of the fields, very few crops could be raised, if any at all. Of what avail would it have been to build cities during the troubled days of Iron Age I-II at the places in the open areas of the Plains of Moab, where they have previously been incorrectly placed on most maps,—as, for instance, Beth hay-Yešimôth at Khirbet Sweimeh, Beth-harâm at Tell er-Râmeh, Abel haš-Šiţţîm at Tell el-Kefrein or Beth-nimrah at Tell Nimrîn,-if the enemy were able to divert the perennial streams of water as they emerged from the hills into the plains? To have cut off the flow of water in the hills themselves would have been impracticable without a major engineering effort. Once, however, the streams leave their canyons in the hills and begin to flow across the open plains, it is a comparatively simple task to dig ditches and divert the water. It might be said in objection to this statement, that the inhabitants of the Plains of Moab could always have obtained water from the Jordan. That would require the installation of pumping stations, such as were not yet dreamed of in ancient times, and only a few of which are employed today on the w. side of the Jordan Valley by some Jewish colonies. The inhabitants of the Jordan Valley were by and large completely dependent thus upon the streams that came down from the hills and coursed through the plains. Their civilization may be described with the Biblical words: 1141

"And Lot lifted up his eyes and saw all the Kikkar of the Jordan. All of it was irrigated, . . . like a garden of God."

The location and history of the Biblical towns in the Plains of Moab must be related to the compulsions and complexities of irrigation agriculture.

There were four perennial streams which traversed these plains and four fortresses, which in Biblical times guarded their eastern gates,—Beth hay-

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. RJ, pp. 241-242.

¹¹⁴¹ Genesis 13: 10.

¹¹⁴² Cf. Bulletin 91, pp. 25-26; TG I, pp. 150-151.155.

Yešimôth at Tell el-'Azeimeh, Beth-harâm at Tell Iktanû, Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm at Tell el-Hammâm, and Beth-nimrah at Tell Bleibil.

el-'Azeimeh Dolmen-Field

Situated about a quarter of a km. away to the e. on the ground rising above Tell el-'Azeimeh (227), is what seems to be a fine circular grave, apparently of dolmen affinity, measuring about 4.50 m. in diameter. It is built of large stones laid sidewise, measuring on the average about 1.10 by .60 by .25 m. Nearby are the remains of large dolmens.

Rujm Abū Qa'îl (226)

On the n, side of Wadī el-'Azeimeh, in about the same relative position as the el-'Azeimeh dolmen-field, and continuing to the n., n. e., and e. n. e. is a very extensive dolmen-field (225), 1143 which extends to a high ridge between Wâdī el-Ḥajal and the Wâdī Siyâleh. This ridge is dominated by the point of Rujm Abū Qa'îl (226), which is about 1.5 km. n. e.-e. n. e. of Tell el-'Azeimeh (227), and from which one commands what is practically an airplane view of the n. end of the Dead Sea and the Plains of Moab and the slopes leading down steeply to their eastern side. On top of Rujm Abū Qa'îl are the massive remains of what may possibly have been the platform base of a great dolmen, possibly of the double-chambered type. It measures about 8.50 m. in diameter. Six rows of stone blocks of this circular foundation, rising to a height of 1.80 m., are still visible on the s. side. There are the remains of large dolmens nearby (Fig. 123, 124) and of small and large stone circles. 1144 We passed broken-down dolmens and stone circles all the way down the slopes to the Plains of Moab. Immediately below the s. w. side of Rujm Abū Qa'îl is a large stone circle, measuring about 24 m. in diameter, with a smaller one, about 4 m. in diameter inside of it.

d. WEST SIDE OF THE JORDAN

Khirbet 'Ain Dûq (249 b)

About 1.5 km. n. w.-n. n. w. of Tell es-Sulţân (Fig. 125), the poorly excavated site of ancient Jericho, is the extensive site of Dûq or Duyûq. 1145 About a km. removed from it to the n. n. w. is the site of Nu'eimeh. About half way between these two points rise the powerful springs of 'Ain Dûq and 'Ain Nu'eimeh, which are separated from each other by a ridge a little over two

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. Mallon, TG I, pp. 149. 152; Neuville, Biblica XI, 1930, pp. 249-264.

¹¹⁴⁴ Cf. Neuville, Biblica XI, 1930, p. 257, Fig. 5.

¹¹⁴⁵ October 29, 1946.

meters long. The flow of the spring of 'Ain Dûq turns s. and then w., and that of the spring of 'Ain Nu'eimeh turns n. and then w. n. w. Originally both of them joined together and flowed through the little Wâdî en-Nu'eimeh,



Fig. 123. Dolmen, w. of Rujm Abū Qa'il (226).

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

which reaches the Jordan just below the position of the present Allenby bridge. The waters of both springs, however, were anciently diverted for irrigation purposes, as they are today, and none escapes into the river. They are employed to irrigate the very intensively cultivated, rich little valley nestled in a deep pocket between the hills n. w. of Tell es-Sulţân. Overlooking the s. w. end of



Fig. 124. Dolmen, s.w. of Rujm Abū Qa'îl, with ruins of other dolmens visible in background.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).



Fig. 125. Tell es-Sulțân (ancient Jericho) in foreground, overlooking the Plains of Jericho.

(Matson Photo Service, Jerusalem).

this valley is the cave-pitted hill of Deir el-Qaranţal. The waters of each of the two springs are separately canalized, those of 'Ain Dûq being led across the s. side of the valley, and those of 'Ain Nu'eimeh across the n. side, and continuing to be further utilized around and beyond the fields of Khirbet Mefjer. In the center of the s. part of this valley are the now completely covered-over remains of a Byzantine synagogue, '146 on the n. side of the Wâdī en-Nu'eimeh. In the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, below the position of the ancient synagogue, are the high, tiered arches, rising some 10 m. above the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$ -bed, still supporting the remains of the Roman aqueduct (Fig. 126. 127) that brought waters from the springs of 'Ain Nu'eimeh and 'Ain Dûq across the Wâdī Nu'eimeh towards Khirbet Mefjer.

The lush little valley, now planted mostly to bananas, was intensively settled in ancient times, and particularly so from the Roman through the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods. The foundation remains and large quantities of Roman to mediaeval Arabic pottery and intensive cultivation have effectively obliterated or buried any earlier remains, which probably existed there. However, on the s. side of the Wadī en-Nu'eimeh, on the slopes of the hills directly above the sources of the two springs of 'Ain Nu'eimeh and 'Ain Dûg, and extending over a considerable area, we found numerous sherds and some flints, most of which seemed to belong to the Early Chalcolithic period, with a few pieces belonging perhaps to Early Bronze, aside from some fragments that ranged from the Roman to the mediaeval Arabic periods (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 435-436). There were numerous examples of Early Chalcolithic ornamentation with bands of "herring-bone" incisions. This Early Chalcolithic settlement would seem to be contemporary with that of Jericho VIII, 1147 and furnishes further evidence of the intensive occupation of the Jordan Valley during that period.

Tell et-Trûnī (249 a)

About 8 km. n. w.-n. n. w. of Khirbet 'Ain Dûq, and a km. w.-w. n. w. of the tiny settlement of el-'Aujā, is the small Tell et-Trûnī (249 a), 1148 known also as Tell Trûnet el-'Aujā. On some maps it is marked as Khirbet el-Aujā el-Fôqā, but it is not known by that name to anyone locally. It is situated at the entrance of a small plain, bordering the hills to the w., from which the Wâdī

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. Vincent, RB 28, 1919, pp. 532-563; RB 30, 1921, pp. 442-443; 579-601; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 307, 393-394; Conder, SWP, III, pp. 190, 201, 221-225; Josephus, Antiquities XVII, 13, 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Cf. above, pp. 327-328.

¹¹⁴⁸ October 29, 1946; cf. Albright, Annual VI, p. 49; Conder, SWP II, p. 403; Alt, PJB 1926, p. 33.

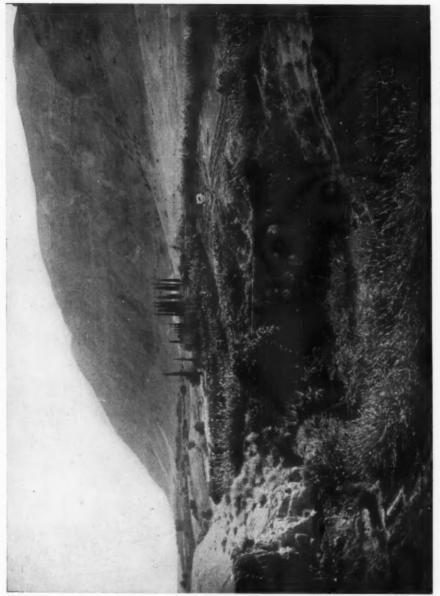


Fig. 126. Valley of 'Ain Nu'eimeh and 'Ain Dûq (249 b), with Roman aqueduct over Wâdi Nu'eimeh. (Phot., courtesy Prof. E. L. Sukenik, Hebrew University).

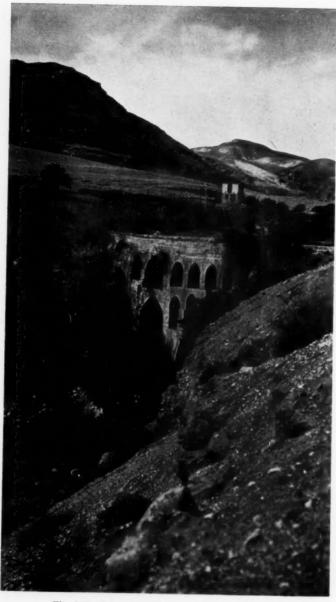


Fig. 127. Roman aqueduct over Wâdî Nu'eimeh.
(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

el-'Aujā emerges with its strongly flowing stream, and is about 100 m. to the s. of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The headwaters of the Wâdī el-'Aujā are located about 1.25 km. away to the n. w.-w. n. w., farther up the $w\hat{a}d\bar{\imath}$, at the very strong spring of 'Ain el-'Aujā. The little plain in which it is situated is no longer in the Jordan Valley proper. Some gardens tended by one family living in a ramshackle house represent the modern occupation of the area. The small tell is almost completely covered with modern graves and fallen building stones of all kinds. Numerous Iron Age I-II sherds were found, most of which, however, belonged to Iron Age II. In addition, there were large numbers of Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā (249)

About 6.5 km. almost due e. of Tell et-Trûnī (249 a), and about 9.5 km. n.-n. n. e. of Jericho is Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā (249). 1149 It overlooks the e. side of the Wâdī el-'Aujā, as, emerging from the rough, hilly area w. of the small plain of Tell et-Trûnī, it makes a northerly bend, before swinging eastward to cross the w. side of the Ghôr of the Jordan Valley, and empty into the Jordan river. There is no water at present in the Wâdī el-'Aujā below Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā, because e. of a point near Tell et-Trûnī its waters are canalized, and are used to irrigate large fields of bananas and other plants to the e. of Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā.

This site marks the beginning of the cultivable, more or less level stretches e. of the broken country, which extends between Tell et-Trûnī and Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā. There are no building remains whatsoever left on the surface of this site, which, to the uninitiated, might appear to be little more than an ordinary stretch of land immediately overlooking the bed of the $w\hat{a}d\bar{i}$ and the somewhat abrupt but brief slopes leading down to it. There is no mound to indicate the presence at one time of an ancient settlement. Indeed, it is likely that the foundations of the ancient houses, which in all probability are constructed of adobe brick, have been so worn away by time and nature, that even excavations would reveal little or nothing below the surface of the ground.

The existence of a settlement belonging to an advanced civilization is revealed by the presence of a considerable number of clear-cut Middle Chalcolithic sherds, which are closely related to or identical with some of the types common at Teleilât Ghassûl. We are indebted to Mr. Robert Hamilton, formerly Director of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine, who first found this site and showed it to us, and permitted us to study the collection of sherds he had obtained from this site and deposited in the sherd collection of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. There was also a small number of Roman

¹¹⁴⁹ June 9, 1943.

and Byzantine sherds, which increase in numbers in the areas e. and n. of this site. Some of the Middle Chalcolithic sherds were found on the slopes leading down to the Wâdī el-'Aujā (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 438-441).

Khirbet el-'Aujā et-Tahtā (251)

About a km. to the n.e. of this distinctively Middle Chalcolithic site, on the e. side of the modern road, is Khirbet el-'Aujā et-Taḥtā (251). Its ruins cover an extensive area. This site was heavily settled from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times and later, with masses of pottery of all these periods present. There is visible a complex tangle of foundation remains of these various periods. Near the s. end of this site are the remains of what once was a fine mosque. In the middle of a fine mosaic floor of a nearby courtyard is a very large cistern. There were numerous other cisterns among the various building remains. Irrigation ditches leading off from the canalized stream of the Wâdī el-'Aujā water the neighboring fields. This site of Khirbet el-'Aujā et-Taḥtā is generally and correctly identified with the Herodian Archelais, 1150 founded by Archelaus, one of the sons of Herod the Great.

Khirbet el-'Ayâsh (250)

Less than three quarters of a km. to the n.e. of the center of the area of Khirbet el-'Aujā et-Taḥtā (251) is Khirbet el-'Ayāsh (250). It is a low mound, about 50 m. in diameter, rising noticeably in the center of the plain. The surface of the mound is bare of ruins, but littered with very numerous fragments of pottery, belonging to Iron Age I-II, with most of them belonging to Iron Age II. There were also among them numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The irrigation ditches which lead past it today must be approximately in the same positions as those in ancient times. This entire area, irrigated by waters drawn off from the Wâdī el-'Aujā, must have been in the Roman and Byzantine periods in particular, as well as in Iron Age I-II and probably earlier, one vast garden.

This is the first Iron Age I-II site, directly in the Jordan Ghôr, thus far discovered n. of Jericho. It is possibly to be identified with the Biblical Na'arath, the southernmost of the two cities of 'Aṭarôth ¹¹⁵¹ and Na'arath mentioned in Joshua 16: 7 as marking the e. limits of the territory of Ephraim. It has, to be sure, been frequently suggested, that Na'arath be located by 'Ain Dûq, ¹¹⁵² which is not an unlikely spot for an Iron Age I-II site, but thus far

¹¹⁵⁰ Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 249, and references there.

¹¹⁵¹ Cf. below, pp. 418-419, where we identify 'Atarôth with Tell el-Mazâr (254) in the plain of Wâdl el-Far'ah.

¹¹⁵² Cf. WHAB, p. 111; Maisler, GHAP, p. 39; Avi Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 164; Abel,

none has been discovered there. This identification hails back to Eusebius, who declared that "Na'arath of the tribe of Ephraim is now Noorath, a Jewish village 5 miles north of Jericho." ¹¹⁵³ The statement of Eusebius was localized by Clermont-Ganneau at 'Ain Dûq, ¹¹⁵⁴ where the Naara of Josephus ¹¹⁵⁵ and the Na'aran of the Talmud have also been located. Assuming that Eusebius knew more or less what he was talking about, the distance between Khirbet el-'Ayâsh and Jericho or Tell es-Sulţân approximates that of 5 miles much more closely than that between 'Ain Dûq and Jericho or Tell es-Sulţân.

Khirbet el-Beiyādât (252)

About 2 km, to the n, of Khirbet el-'Aujā et-Tahtā (251) is Khirbet el-Beiyadat (252), on the e. side of the modern road. It consists today of the remains of a large birkeh or reservoir. This birkeh, however, is so full of dirt now, that its original size and depth could only be determined by considerable clearances. On its e, side are the remains of a stone wall, 1.5 m, thick, which may be part of the birkeh. It seems likely that water for the birkeh was led into it from one of the canals which diverted the water of the Wadī el-'Aujā. The birkeh undoubtedly served also to catch as much of the sudden and brief winter and spring rains as possible. It was obviously a feeder reservoir for the supplying of water to the system of irrigation ditches which threaded the fields of the plain on the level somewhat below it. There is a gradual and even perceptible slope from the base of the hills towards the edge of the Ghôr overlooking the Zôr of the Jordan. That the birkeh still catches some water from the seasonal rains was evidenced by the fact that although the area round about it was bare and brown and burnt out at the time of our visit on June 3, 1943, some green shrubs were growing inside its confines. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found on this site. Excavations would probably reveal the presence of houses in the immediate vicinity of this birkeh, some of which would undoubtedly go back to the Roman period.

It has been suggested by some that the site of Magdalsenna, related to the name of the Biblical S^ena^iah , 1156 is to be identified with the site of Khirbet el-Beiyādât. 1157 We are inclined to agree with this suggestion, although there does not seem to be enough proof to make it certain.

Géographie . . . II, pp. 249. 393-394, and references there; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, p. 28; above, p. 408.

1153 Onomasticon, 136, 24.

¹¹⁵⁴ Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine, II, pp. 20-23.

 $^{1155}\,Antiquities$. . . XVII, 13.1; cf. Avi-Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 164 (26); Clermont-Ganneau, op. cit., p. 22; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 393-394.

1156 Nehemiah 7: 38; Ezra 2: 35; Josephus, Antiquities XVII, 13.1.

1187 Guthe, Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästinvereins 1911, p. 68; Avi

Khirbet Fasâyil (253)

About 7 km. n. n. w.-n. w. of Khirbet el-Beiyāḍât (252) is Khirbet Faṣâyil (253), the site of the Phasaelis built by Herod the Great to commemorate the name of his brother. Once the center of a fruitful and intensively cultivated area, famous, for instance, for its date-palm trees, the scanty ruins which mark the once magnificent site are hardly visible, until one is directly on top of them. Khirbet Faṣâyil is about a km. from the base of the hills at the w. side of the Jordan Valley. The wide and essentially fertile part of the Jordan Valley, in which Khirbet Faṣâyil is located, is almost empty of sedentary inhabitants today. Large tracts of land are being planted to bananas, irrigated by the perennial flow of the Wâdī Faṣâyil, which made possible initially the establishment of such a site as Phasaelis. In ancient times, this region was made greatly productive by intensive irrigation agriculture:

"He (Herod) also built a city . . . in the valley of Jericho as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighboring country more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this he called Phasaelis." 1160

About 3 km. to the n. w. of Khirbet Faşâyil, the Wâdī Faşâyil first enters the Jordan Valley. Rising in it, is the strong spring of 'Ain Faşâyil, whose waters were early canalized (Fig. 128), and led through a series of aqueducts and ditches to irrigate an extensive area of the 'Arḍ Faṣâyil. The outlines of a large reservoir can still be made out in the lands of Faṣâyil. Lines of irrigation channels are also visible to the e. and s. of Khirbet Faṣâyil, traversing an area about 4 km. square. At the n. e. corner of this section are the outlines of another large reservoir, called Khirbet ed-Dašā. 1161 It is about 3 km. e. s. e. of Khirbet Faṣâyil. From Khirbet Faṣâyil and Khirbet ed-Dašā, a track leads e. s. e. and then s. e. down to the Jordan, to the ford known as Mukhâdet eš-Šurât.

Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyab (253 a)

About 2.5 km. n. w. of Khirbet Faşâyil (253) is the small, low mound of

Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 164 (26); Alt, PJB 1926, pp. 33-34; 1927, p. 31; Conder, SWP II, p. 392; cf. Dalman, PJB 1913, p. 74; 1914, p. 15, and Pl. III, who wrongly identifies this site with Na'arath, as has already been pointed out by Abel, $G\acute{e}ographie$. . . II, pp. 249. 455.

¹¹⁵⁸ Josephus, Antiquities XVI, 5.2; XVII, 8.1; XVIII, 2.2; BJ I, 21.9; Alt, PJB 23, 1927, pp. 31-32; Conder, SWP II, pp. 392-393.

1150 Cf. Pliny, Natural History, ed. Ian-Mayhoff, XIII, 4.44; Robinson, Biblical Researches, II, pp. 302-305; Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 408-409; Avi-Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 164 (26).

1160 Antiquities XVI, 5.2.

1161 Cf. QDAP V: 4, p. 164.



Fig. 128. Looking over w. part of 'Ard Faşâyil and disused aqueduct at conical hill-top of Qarn Şarţabeh. (Phot. Nelson Glueck).

Tell Sheikh edh-Dhivâb (253 a). 1162 situated below the entrance of the Wâdī Fasâvil into the Ghôr of the Jordan. The small tell, which is oriented e. n. e. by w. s. w., and measures roughly about 25 by 11 m., is situated several hundred m. to the s. of the line of the Wadī Faṣayil, with its rushing stream of water. On the s. e. side of the tell is a reservoir, measuring about 45 m. square. The perennial stream of the Wâdī Faşâyil was in Roman and Byzantine times deflected into an aqueduct, remains of which are clearly visible, and which was 0.50 m, wide. The modern aqueduct, which leads the waters today down to the Fasavil plain is narrower, and does not come as near Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb as the Roman one. The small tell, which consists for the most part of a rocky rise, is covered with remains of foundations of walls of all kinds, and is used as a modern burial place. It commands an excellent view of the 'Ard Fasâvil to the e. of it, while beyond the Wâdī Fasâvil, there is visible some 6 km. to the n. n. e.-n. e. the lofty hill of Qarn Sartabeh (253 b). Standing in a hollow, enclosed by hills on all sides but the e., Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb occupies an important strategic position (Fig. 129).

To judge from the considerable number of Iron Age I-II sherds found (most of which to be sure belonged to Iron Age II), there was a small fortress-settlement there during that period. There were also several EB I-II fragments, including a fine, semi-elliptical, EB I ledge-handle found on the s. e. side of the tell, just above the e. wall of the reservoir below it, and several MB II sherds. There were also numerous Roman to mediaeval Arabic sherds, testifying to the occupancy of the site and region in those periods. On the n. side of the Wâdī Faṣâyil, on the gradual slopes leading upward beyond to the base of the hills surmounted in the distance by Qarn Ṣarṭabeh, we found some worn EB I-II sherds, and some Middle Chalcolithic pieces. There were no visible traces of buildings of any kind, but excavations may well reveal them (cf. Pl. 11:8; 92).

Alt has suggested the possibility of identifying Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb with Biblical 'Aṭarôth, if it is not to be equated with Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā, which it demonstrably cannot be. 1163 Abel, too, 1164 is of the opinion that Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb and 'Aṭarôth are to be equated. We shall discuss below our reasons for rejecting this equation and for identifying 'Aṭarôth with Tell el-Mazâr in the plain of the Wâdī el-Far'ah. 1165

Qarn Sartabeh (253 b)

On top of a lofty hill surmounting the Jebel el-Qurein, at a point some 6 km.

¹¹⁶² October 23, 1946.

¹¹⁶⁸ Alt, PJB 1926, p. 33, n. 2; 1927, p. 31.

¹¹⁶⁴ Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 58. 255.

¹¹⁶⁴ See below, pp. 418-419.

to the n. n. e.-n. e. of Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb (253 a), and a little less than 8 km. w. s. w.-w. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), which it also overlooks, is Qarn Şartabeh (253 b), which has generally and correctly been identified with Alexandrium. It is clearly visible all the way from Jericho, and commands



Fig. 129. Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb (253 a), looking w. n. w.
It is a low, rounded mound in upper center of phot., with a larger, similarly shaped hillock behind it.

(Phot. Nelson Glueck).

thus a view not only over all of the lower half, but also over a considerable part of the n. half of the Jordan Valley. On the very top of it are the ruins of Alexandrium, founded by Alexander Jannaeus and rebuilt by order of Herod the Great. 1166 Flying over the summit of Qarn Ṣarṭabeh, as we did on Jan. 27, 1945, in a plane piloted by the then Air Officer Commanding, Royal

 1166 Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, p. 242; Avi-Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 161 $\,$ (23); Conder, SWP II, pp. 380-382. 396-401; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, p. 42.

Air Force, Levant, Air Commodore H. D. McGregor, we could clearly see the remains of the thick Herodian walls. Numerous large, dressed building stones were lying about on the surface. The prominence of this site, the strength of its position, the excellence of its vantage point, have in the past given rise to the incorrect identification of Qarn Ṣarṭabeh with the Biblical Zarethan. 1167 Both the architecture and pottery of Qarn Ṣarṭabeh agree with the literary evidence that the ruins there must be dated between the 2nd century B. C. and the 1st century A. D., and show furthermore that there may have been some resettlement and rebuilding there in the mediaeval Arabic period. 1168

Tell el-Mazâr (254)

About 5.25 km, to the n. e. of Qarn Sartabeh (253 b) and about 7 km, n. w.w. n. w. of Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), is Tell el-Mazâr (254). It is located in the Jiftlik, near the lower end of the widening plain of the Wadī el-Far'ah, which merges with the plain of the w. side of the Jordan Valley. The perennial stream of the Wadī el-Far'ah irrigates not only the arable lands along its sides, but also and especially the rich fields of the merged plains of the Wâdī el-Far'ah and the Jordan Valley. Together with its opposite number on the e. side of the Jordan, Tell ed-Dâmieh (200), Tell el-Mazâr helps control the important highway which leads up into the hill country of Palestine via the Wâdī el-Far'ah, and of Transjordan via the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok). Tell el-Mazâr also, naturally, was an important post on the n.-s. track which traversed the length of the w. side of the Jordan Ghôr. Viewed from its e. side, Tell el-Mazâr is an imposing-looking mound, commanding an excellent view over the cultivated Ghôr of the w. side of the Jordan. The w. side of Tell el-Mazâr, beyond which the modern track runs, is considerably less steep than the e. side. Foundation ruins, many of them probably no earlier than the mediaeval Arabic period, are visible on the top and sides of the mound. There are two crude, modern stone houses on the top, and a small mosque, Large quantities of sherds were found on the top and slopes of the mound, most of which belong to the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. Tell el-Mazâr has generally and probably correctly been identified with the Hellenistic to Byzantine Coreae. 1165 There were, in addition, considerable numbers of Iron Age I-II sherds, particularly Iron Age II.

The excellent location of Tell el-Mazâr near an important $w\hat{a}d\hat{i}$ with a

¹¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bulletin 62, pp. 14-18; 90, pp. 8-10.

¹¹⁶⁸ Cf. above, pp. 342-344.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. Moulton, Bulletin 62, p. 14; Abel, RB 1913, p. 227; Géographie . . . II, pp. 300-301; Alt, PJB 1928, p. 41; Avi-Yonah, QDAP V: 4, p. 162 (24); Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 344.

perennial stream, in the midst of a fertile plain, and straddling a strategic crossroads, enhances the likelihood of its having been mentioned, under its original name, in the Bible. To judge from the manner frequently employed in the Bible of mentioning two towns such as Dan and Beersheba, Bozrah and Teman, Beth-nimrah and Beth-harâm, or Abel haš-šiṭṭīm and Beth hay-Yešīmôth to indicate the n. and s. ends of a district, 1170 the two cities of 'Aṭarôth and Na'arath (Na'arah or Na'aran) mentioned in Josh. 16:7, 1171 represent, respectively, the n. and s. limits, or at least the most important sites between the n. and s. limits of the e. side of the territory of Ephraim, which is bounded by the w. side of the Jordan Valley.

We have above given our reasons for identifying Na'arath with the Iron Age I-II site of Khirbet 'Ayâsh instead of placing it in the immediate vicinity of 'Ain Dûq, where it has generally been previously located.\(^{1172}\) The only two sites which can be considered for identification with 'Aṭarôth are either Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb or Tell el-Mazâr. Most scholars have tended to identify 'Aṭarôth with Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb,\(^{1173}\) in line with Alt's second choice identification,—his first being the completely impossible one of Khirbet el-'Aujā el-Fôqā.\(^{1174}\) There can be no question of the relative merits of these two sites, when one considers location, strategic position and size. Tell el-Mazâr would make an ideal n. limit of the e. side of the territory of Ephraim. A boundary line drawn from Khirbet 'Ayâsh to Tell el-Mazâr would incorporate practically all of the e. side of Ephraim, as suggested in Joshua 16:7. The position of Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb is too centrally located and too far inland, comparatively speaking, to serve as the northern boundary point of the e. side of Ephraim.

Tell Abū Sidreh (255)

About 10 km. to the n. e. of Tell el-Mazâr (254) is Tell Abū Sidreh (255), 1175 located in the Zôr proper, below the qaṭṭârah hills which separate the Zôr from the higher Ghôr level of the Jordan Valley. It is a small mound, whose steepest sides are on the n. and e., and it overlooks from the n. the confluence of the small, dry Wâdī Abū Sidreh with the Jordan river. The broadened enclave of the section of the Zôr in which it stands was created by the Jordan river

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf. above, pp. 398-400, 402, 403.

¹¹⁷¹ Cf. I Chron. 7: 28.

¹¹⁷² Cf. above, pp. 412-413.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. Abel, Géographie . . . II, pp. 58. 255. 393-394; Conder, SWP II, pp. 393. 403; Maisler, GHAP, p. 38; Wright and Filson, WHAB, p. 107.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. Alt, PJB 1926, p. 33, n. 2; 1927, p. 32.

¹¹⁷⁵ June 9, 1943.

making a deep bend to the e., looking like the upper part of a formal top hat in outline, and with the crown almost touching the base of the gattarah hills on the e, side of the river (Fig. 130). The level stretch of the Zôr of Tell Abū Sidreh was anciently cultivated, and was being cultivated at the time of our visit to the tell by some Arab families, living in a small encampment of five black tents. Tell Abū Sidreh commands access to the ford leading across the river. Called Mukhâdet Abū Sidreh now, it controls thus the track leading to a group of important tells in a wide expanse of the Ghôr on the e. side of the Jordan, including Tell el-Ekhsås (186), Tell el-Fukhår (188), Tell Abū Şarbûţ (185), Tell el-Qa'adân (183), and Tell Deir'allā (184). In addition to numerous Roman and Byzantine and some mediaeval Arabic sherds, a considerable number of Iron Age I-II sherds was found on and immediately around Tell Abū Sidreh. A short distance to the n, w, of this tell, are the ruins of a small, Roman-Byzantine site, whose foundations are flush with the ground. Numerous Roman-Byzantine sherds were found among the ruins. In all of these periods of occupation, the small Zôr Abū Sidreh may have afforded a convenient halting place for caravans to and from the e. side of the Jordan.

Khirbet es-Sâlih (256)

About a km. to the n. w.-w. n. w. of Tell Abū Sidreh (255) is Khirbet es-Sâlih (256), at the very edge of the Ghôr, overlooking the beginnings of the gattârah hills which lead down to the small Zôr Abū Sidreh. It is on the e. side of the modern n.-s. Ghôr road. The Ghôr in this area is quite narrow and unimportant compared to the Ghôr on the e. side of the Jordan, in which a whole group of important $tul\hat{u}l$ is located, the most imposing one of them being Tell Deir'alla. The small Wadī es-Salih passes below the n. side of Khirbet es-Sâlih and leads down e. s. e. to join the Jordan near the n. limit of the Zôr Abū Sidreh. There is a small spring in the wâdī below Khirbet es-Sâlih. This site is bounded also on the s. side by a small gully. There is no mound as such visible at Khirbet es-Sâlih, whose presence is betrayed by some foundation-walls and by the presence of considerable numbers of sherds, which belong in the main to Iron Age I-II. There were also numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds. These various types of sherds were found also on the w, side of the modern road. About 70 m, to the w. of the modern road, and more or less parallel with it, are some paved sections of the Roman road, which once extended from Scythopolis (Beisân) to Jericho. 1176 The 6 m. wide Roman road was divided into two parts by a raised curb down the center. Khirbet es-Sâlih is marked by some modern graves.

²¹⁷⁶ Cf. Avi-Yonah, Map of Roman Palestine, in QDAP V: 4.

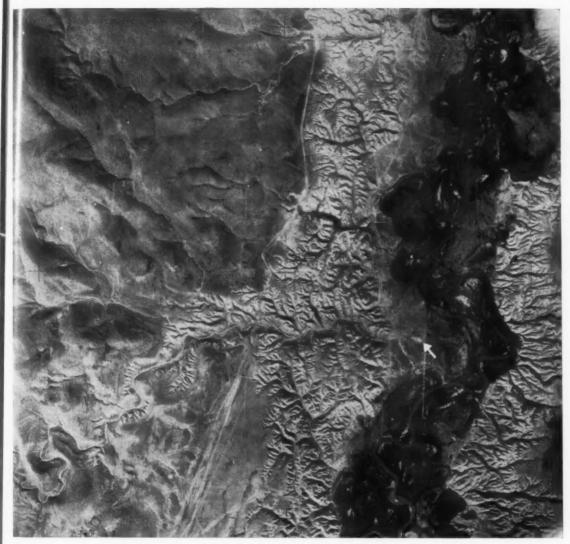


Fig. 130. Arrow points to Tell Abū Sidreh (255), in the Zôr Abū Sidreh, on w. side of the Jordan, below qattarah hills leading up to the narrow w. side of the Ghôr.

(Phot. Royal Air Force, Levant).

Tell Misqā (254 a)

About 14 km, n. w. of Tell el-Mazâr (254), overlooking the Wâdī el-Far'ah from the n, side, at a point well up in the highlands through which it cuts its way, is the extensive, low mound of Tell el-Misqa (254 a).1177 It is also called Tell Umm es-Semâyih, A track leads down to the strong spring of 'Ain Shibleh below, whose waters reach the perennial stream of the Wadī el-Far'ah at a point just below where it makes a big bend. The modern road along the n. side of the broken hill country overlooking the steep descent to the Wâdī el-Far'ah cuts through the n. end of the very large site of Tell Misqā. On the sides of the cut are visible great quantities of Byzantine sherds. In fact, there are so many of them, piled so thickly together, that it looks as if perhaps they had been parts of wasters discarded from a local Byzantine pottery kiln. There were also some Roman and some mediaeval Arabic sherds on the site, Of greater interest for the earlier history of occupation of this site was the presence of very large numbers of clear-cut Late Chalcolithic sherds, of the same types as those revealed in the excavations conducted under the direction of Père de Vaux by the École Biblique et Archéologique Française at Tell el-Far'ah, 1178 overlooking the powerful spring of 'Ain el-Far'ah, above the w. side of a n.-s. stretch of the Wâdī el-Far'ah. Tell el-Far'ah is about 8 km, to the n. w. of Tell Misqā. The Late Chalcolithic sherds of Tell Misqā were also of exactly the same types as those found by the ASOR expedition at Tell Umm Ḥamâd Sherqī (199b).1179 In addition there were large numbers of EB I-II sherds, but none that could be assigned to EBIII or EBIV. There were, however, numerous MBI sherds, which apparently have not yet been found in the sections thus far excavated at Tell el-Far'ah, or on the surface there. In addition, we found numerous Iron Age I-II sherds on the surface of this very large site. Excavations may well reveal the presence of Middle Chalcolithic sherds too, as well as evidence of MB II and LB occupation, as in the case of Tell el-Far ah (cf. Pottery Notes, pp. 495-497).

¹¹⁷⁷ Oct. 23, 1946.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. above, pp. 253. 254. 327. 329.

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf. above, pp. 318-329.

VI. SUMMARY

- 1. Excavations and explorations have revealed the existence of a distinctive Neolithic civilization in the Jordan Valley.
- 2. The entire course of the Chalcolithic Age can be traced in the Jordan Valley and can be largely paralleled in the hill country and plains of the rest of Transjordan and Western Palestine.
- 3. After a period of transition from the Chalcolithic period, the Early Bronze Age civilization flourished in the Jordan Valley and in Transjordan. Although EB IV is well represented in Transjordan south of the Wâdī Zerqā, there seems to have been a marked decline in urban settlement then in North Gilead and in the Jordan Valley.
- 4. In North Gilead and in the Jordan Valley, there was a definite revival of permanent civilized settlement during the MB I period, with many important MB I sites being established on virgin soil. It was a highly developed civilization, and may represent not only a strong cultural influence but also a pronounced population influx from Syria.
- 5. During most of the following MB II period and much of the LB period, both in the Jordan Valley and in Transjordan, there seems to have set in a sharp decline of permanent settlement, accompanied by a lessening and a centralization of sedentary population at a comparatively few fixed and strongly fortified points. In North Gilead and in the Jordan Valley, this decline seems to have taken place mainly between the middle of the 18th and the 15th centuries B. C., while in the rest of Transjordan south of the Wâdī Zerqā it seems to have extended between the 20th and 13th centuries B. C. Available literary evidence confirms these inductions.
- 6. The existence of but a comparatively small number of pronounced artificial city-hills (tulûl) in most of Transjordan may be explained by these various periods of disturbance and decline, which made it impossible for accretions of cities to pile up on the same places in unbroken succession throughout the centuries.
- 7. There was intensive occupation of Transjordan and the Jordan Valley during Iron Age I-II, followed after another period of decline by the flourishing civilizations of the Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine periods.
- 8. The pattern of the rise and fall of civilizations in Transjordan and the Jordan Valley has repeated itself down to the present. The changes of fortune in historic times are to be attributed not to major fluctuations in climate but almost entirely to both the creativity and frailties of human nature.